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Biography

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# English Men of Action

PETERBOROUGH





PETERBOROUGH





# PETERBOROUGH

WILLIAM STEBBING

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## CHAPTER I

### ANCESTRY—EARLY

FOR the sixty years of his active ~~career~~ Peterborough ~~was~~ an enigma to his contemporaries. He has remained an enigma to posterity for a century and a half since. Never has a character or a memory been more pelted by writers of authority with contradictory epithets and attributes of praise and blame. He was, we have been told, a ~~man~~ of ~~great~~ true judgment and less virtue. ~~His~~ head ~~was~~ extremely hot, and confused with indigested schemes. A friend declared that his eminent talents were dashed with something restless and capricious in his nature. He ~~was~~ vainglorious, and without common ~~sense~~. He ~~was~~ wayward, selfish, and ungovernable. Sometimes he would stoop to be a knave. He had a morbid craving for novelty and excitement. He ~~was~~ addicted to frivolous and fickle amours. He loved to preach in coffee-houses, and would play the fool as a ship's chaplain. He would ~~lose~~ away the credit due to others as patriots, and dress himself in borrowed plumes as a soldier. It has ~~been~~ boldly asserted that in ~~fact~~ he showed himself a coward, a liar, and a thief. On the other hand, he ~~has~~ been extolled by authors holding no retainer as biographers, as a ~~man~~ friend, a

magnanimous enemy, an diplomatist, a gifted orator, one of those of careless wit and negligent grace who scatter without troubling themselves to reclaim a thousand witty sayings and verses, a bad economist for himself, a good and disinterested economist for the State, a general of brilliant invention, and of a courage which rose to the height of fabulous heroism, at once a sagacious and cautious strategist and an audacious moss-trooper. All air and fire, he is described as turning life into a wild ; one of the phenomena produced by Nature in the revolution of centuries to show to ordinary what she do in a fit of prodigality. A bitter woman summed him up as a man who to vileness of soul had joined a sort of knight-errantry. An enthusiastic admirer fondly pictured him as a hangdog he dearly loved, and the ramblingest lying rogue on earth.

Here are a few specimens of invective and applause culled from a most abundant anthology. The object of the present sketch is to enable modern readers to pick and choose for themselves.

Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon, Baron Beauchamp and Mordaunt, descended from a Norman family. It had allied itself with many other ancient and noble houses, having the gift of attracting heiresses. In the early days of the Plantagenets it had acquired by marriage Turvey in Bedfordshire, where it received the licence of Edward the First to enclose a park. Its representative created Lord Mordaunt of Turvey in 1532. The splendid domain of Drayton in Northamptonshire had to him by marriage. The fourth Baron, a

Roman Catholic, ■■■ imprisoned for alleged complicity in the Gunpowder Plot. ■■■ son, who turned Protestant, married the only child and heiress of Lord Howard of Effingham, eldest ■■■ of the conqueror of the Spanish Armada. The marriage gave him the revenues of the Reigate Priory and other estates. Charles the First created him Earl of Peterborough in 1627; but for some slight at Court he embraced the ■■■ of the Parliament, which he served ■■■ Master-General of the Ordnance. He died in 1642. His political opinions were not embraced by his two sons, Henry, second Earl of Peterborough, and John. Clarendon ■■■ both ■■■ engaged in Lord Holland's rising of July, 1648, and ■■■ having accepted commissions from him. John's youth renders it probable that the statement should have been limited to the elder brother. Henry escaped to the Netherlands. Subsequently he was allowed to return and compound for his property. ■■■ owed the indulgence to the exertions of his wife, Lady Penelope O'Brien. After the Restoration, in 1662, when Portugal ceded Tangier, he ■■■ commissioned to receive the keys and was appointed governor. Generally, though he found leisure ■■■ ■■■ in the compilation of a learned family history, he ■■■ in close attendance upon Charles. He ■■■ the only courtier ■■■ hand when the King ■■■ struck down by his ■■■ fit. Conversion to Catholicism had earned him the confidence of James also. As his trusted friend he negotiated the marriage with Mary of Modena. Throughout the short reign of James he enjoyed great influence, and was enabled to avenge himself ■■■ law for published sarcasms ■■■ his secession to Rome. ■■■ paid for his ascendancy

the Revolution, when he was impeached and sent to the Tower. He was a proper object of punishment for his subservience to power than of the scornful compassion Lord Macaulay extends to him as an old dotard. There is no evidence that the tried counsellor of Charles and James ever verged upon imbecility.

His brother John, to whom Clarendon ascribes parts and great vigour of mind, nearly had his career cut short in 1658. Lord Ormond alarmed Cromwell by a visit to London in that year to concert a Royalist insurrection. John Mordaunt was supposed to be a leading conspirator, and was brought before the Protector for examination. He denied his knowledge of Ormond's movements, but two days after corroborative testimony was obtained. He was arrested, with several others, and arraigned before a special court under the presidency of John Lisle. Like his brother, only still more signally, he was indebted to the love and energy of his bride, Elizabeth, co-heiress of Thomas Carey, younger son of the Earl of Monmouth. Clarendon describes her as a young and beautiful lady, of a very loyal spirit and notable vivacity of wit and humour. Evelyn thought her the most virtuous lady in the world, a blessed creature, one that loved and feared God exemplarily, munificent and charitable. He relates, and she with particularity has explained in her diary, how she spirited away a principal witness, and bribed several of the twenty judges. John was acquitted by the casting vote of Lisle, who acknowledged himself under many obligations to the prisoner's Parliamentary mother, and "would not say he was guilty, but bade him ask his conscience whether he were or not." II

sent back to the Tower; but Cromwell, fearing the odium of a second trial for the same offence, finally permitted him to go abroad. His escape did not frighten him into repose. The register of Fulham Church boasts that he was up in arms for the King the next year, and was declared a traitor by the Rump Parliament. Towards the end of June, 1659, he had come secretly from Brussels and took part in a futile rising. He hid in London. On the return, however, of the expelled members of the House of Commons he emerged and was exceedingly active. Some conspicuous politicians and officers, for instance Ingoldsby and Huntington, were brought by him to the Royalist side. According to Clarendon, whom Evelyn corroborates, he was known to be entirely trusted by the King. He was created by patent on July 10th, 1659, Baron Mordaunt of Reigate and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon. Sir John Grenville and he conveyed messages between Charles at Brussels and Monk, the House of Commons, and the City of London. For a letter from Charles, of which they were the bearers, they were voted by the Corporation a gift of £300 to buy each of them a ring. It was Mordaunt who introduced Monk to Charles at Canterbury on May 26th. His devotion was rewarded by an amount of royal favour which, though in Clarendon's estimation inferior to his merits, brought upon him the especial jealousy and spite of less fortunate Cavaliers. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey and Constable of Windsor Castle. For his conduct in this latter capacity towards a Captain William Taylor, or Tayleur, he narrowly escaped impeachment by the House of Commons in 1666-67. Taylor had an office and



in Windsor Castle. The Constable ejected and imprisoned him. Taylor alleged that his crime was the resistance of a daughter to the Constable's gross violence. The House of Commons discussed the matter passionately, but a prorogation interrupted the proceedings, and through the King's influence, as was supposed, they were not resumed. If, as Andrew Marvell took for granted and Pepys inclined to believe, he was guilty, he otherwise bore for his age an honourable reputation. His contemporaries were struck by the absurdity in the sumptuous monument in Fulham Church, with which his sorrowing widow honoured his memory. He was the father of Charles Mordaunt.

The history of the house indicates a continuous determination not to be obscure, a clear conviction that the Mordaunts had inherited a prerogative to conduct affairs of State, not without the attendant emoluments, and an acquiescence of successive generations in their right. These are family features which help us to analyse the character and career of him whom the last century loved to distinguish as the Great Earl of Peterborough.

Charles Mordaunt was the eldest of a family of seven and four daughters. His birth is assigned somewhat doubtfully to the year 1658. No record has been preserved of his boyhood. The names of his school are unknown. The first specific event in his life is his voyage as a volunteer in the ship of Admiral Arthur Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, in Sir John Narborough's expedition against the Algerine corsairs towards the close of 1674. Herbert was his mother's half-brother through her mother Margaret Smith's second marriage to Sir John Herbert, King Charles

the First's Attorney-General. Cloudealey Shovel lieutenant on board the same vessel, and Charles Mordaunt accompanied him on a cutting-out expedition Mordaunt fought in the battle which in February, 1675, reduced the Dey to submission. The fleet, and he with it, returned early in 1677. During his absence his father had died of a fever on June 5th, 1675, at the age of forty-seven, and Charles came home to himself in his twentieth year Viscount Mordaunt. He very soon married. His wife was Carey, daughter of Sir Alexander Fraser of Durris, Kincardineshire. The good looks she was supposed to have possessed, and the zeal for her husband's interests and fame which endured all tests, did not retain him long by her side. On September 29th, 1678, he and four servants embarked on a frigate, the "Bristol," which was commissioned for service on the Barbary coast. He was to have shipped as a passenger. Antony Langston was captain, and the chaplain was Henry Teonge, who had taken to the sea to escape his creditors. Teonge quarrelled with him for his ambition on a November Sunday to discharge duties for which his open profession of scepticism scarcely qualified him. Taking advantage of the chaplain's indisposition, "the Lord Mordaunt," writes Teonge in his diary, "would have preached, asked the captain's leave, and to my intent sat up till four in the morning to compose his speech. I got up, and came into the great cabin, where I found the zealous lord, whom I did so handle in a smart and short discourse that he went out of the cabin in great wrath." The ship's company, adds Teonge, "had no prayers for discontent." To show his contempt the young gentleman

directed the carpenter on the Sunday morning to fit up ■■■ cabin, when again the chaplain interposed. Mordant, determined not ■■■ be thwarted, borrowed ■■■ hammer and nailed up ■■■ hangings himself. But he took umbrage ■■■ the interference with ■■■ whims, and within ■■■ couple of months shifted his quarters to the "Rupert." "So," moralises triumphant Teonge, "the reverend lord's Sunday work is ■■■ to nothing." After ■■■ year at ■■■ he returned to his bride, who ■■■ now, and for the next thirty years, to have ■■■ him ■■■ and ■■■ with imperturbable amiability. He did not stay long. In June, 1680, he joined as a military volunteer the expedition despatched under Lord Plymouth for the relief of Tangier, which the Sultan of Fez ■■■ besieging. ■■■ was with the force thrown into the town, though he obtained permission to leave for England before the end of the year.

At twenty-two he was ■■■ husband, ■■■ father, and a peer of the realm. Nature had endowed him with varied abilities, perfect health, and a pleasant presence. Small in stature and very slight, the "skeleton in outward figure" of Swift's sparkling lines to "Mordant," he ■■■ full of vigour and vivacity. His features were regular and handsome, and he had bright blue eyes and a delicately fair complexion. The extant portraits, Lord Roden's, that belonging to the Stopfords ■■■ Drayton House, and the full length ■■■ Burghley House which ■■■ from the Poyntses, were taken of ■■■ in advanced life, yet it is not impossible to imagine from them, allowance being made for wrinkles and ■■■ ■■■ flaxen wig which ■■■ placed ■■■ own light brown hair, the headstrong free-lance of politics and warfare. ■■■ had, Pope has testified,

the nobleman look, and could condescend without disparagement. Few men could resist him, and fewer women.

In [ ] he [ ] free to choose his part. His father's memory entitled him to favour. His trustee under his mother's will [ ] John Evelyn, who had influence [ ] Court, [ ] uncle, Lord Peterborough, [ ] trusted by the King and [ ] King's brother. There had been a sharp dispute between him and [ ] late Lord Mordaunt [ ] their mother's inheritance, which had been decided in favour of the junior. But it does not appear that the earl cherished rancour against his nephew, who did not practically benefit by the decision. For Charles a character like Mordaunt's was sure to be attractive, on account of its blemishes more than for its virtues. [ ] exhibited the fashionable contempt for religion, and more for morality. If his freaks had exceeded their repute, they would but have gained him the more smiles [ ] Whitehall, had he cared for them. He was not [ ] rich that he could afford to despise them. He had not inherited the Reigate lands. They, through a curious regrant procured by his grandmother from Charles the Second, had descended to John, Lord Mordaunt, but only for life. On his death they went to [ ] Henry's daughter Mary. Some portion of the Howard of Effingham estates may have descended to Charles Mordaunt; for a house at Ashstead in Surrey seems to have formed part of them, and there in 1687 his wife [ ] living, and was visited by Evelyn. But his property consisted principally of the Carey possessions, which [ ] to him [ ] his mother's death in 1679. Among them [ ] Villa Carey on Parson's Green, Fulham,

subsequently better known as Peterborough House. It was a spacious square brick edifice. Thomas Carey is reputed to have built it, and he had its many and "extraordinary good rooms" decorated by a Continental painter, Francis Cleyna. It stood in twenty acres of gardens, abounding in fruit and flowers, as well as "large cypress shades, and pleasant wildernesses, with fountains and statues very entertaining." A sweet place for lovers Mrs. Delany calls it, when telling how its lord sheltered there in the spring of 1728 Colonel Mordaunt and his bride, whom her mother, Lady Howe, had turned out of doors for marrying without leave. Evelyn knew it well, and Sayes Court did not disdain to borrow of it tuberoses, orange and lemon trees. One tulip tree, the first planted in England, was seventy-six feet high, with a girth of five feet nine inches. The tree died over a hundred years old in 1756, and the mansion was pulled down early in the present century. By unanimous admission there could not have been a more delightful residence. But it was costly rather than lucrative. On the death of Mordaunt's mother her executors had, therefore, thought of selling it, though they did not. Such a patrimony needed to be eked out, as previously, by Court patronage, and the Court was willing to buy its heir's adhesion.

He received earnest in his appointment in 1678 to a Windsor sinecure, which probably his father had enjoyed, the keepership of the New Lodge. He would appear also to have obtained the reversion of the manor of Dauntsey in Wilts. The manor had been forfeited to the Crown, and the grant to Mordaunt, afterwards enlarged, was made subject to a rent of £300, which he

regularly paid. Three years later, when he had already manifested his indocility, the gift of a commission as captain of a ship of war was a sign that repentance might still have been accepted. ■ he had a rooted distaste for Stuart doctrines of prerogative. In that he never wavered. Very ■ after he had taken his seat in the House of Lords he threw himself into irreconcilable opposition. He had family associations with the Country ■ well ■ with the Court party, and he preferred his grandfather's to his father's and uncle's connections. He saw no inconsistency in a conjunction of ample respect for old descent and the privileges of nobility with contempt for royalty. His well-known though not remarkable witticism, in ■ to the Prince de Cellamare's query concerning England, "Sacre t'on les Rois?"—"Oui, Monsieur, on les sacre, et on les massacre aussi," represented his habitual tone with regard to kings. He looked down upon them, he said, from the height of his ■ greatness. He could not pardon them when they expected sacrifices and did not make them. It disgusted him to hear that neither Charles ■ Philip was present at the battle of Almanza, which decided the fate ■ their rival crowns, though the Austrian Prince, in discountenancing offensive operations, ■ following his counsels. He wrote to his old adversary, de Tessé, ■ de Tessé told Voltaire, ridiculing the risk of life for ■ who would not share the danger. ■ added that slaves fight for a man; a free man will battle only for a nation. He attended the House in 1680, and ■ present when the King with a brief and sarcastic rebuke dissolved Parliament on March 31st, 1681. But ■ first open appearance in a political character ■ his

subscription ■ ■ petition ■ sixteen peers in 1681 against ■■ convocation of Parliament at Oxford. The petitioners represented themselves ■ afraid that the two Houses would be deprived of freedom of debate. In company with Shaftesbury, Bedford, Essex, and sixteen other lords, he protested against the refusal of their House to proceed upon the Lower House's impeachment of Edward Fitzharris. He identified himself with the popular party throughout the troubled session, and ■■ admitted to the intimate friendship of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney. ■ has been said that he accompanied Sidney ■ the scaffold, but the statement is inconsistent with the accepted accounts of the execution. The nature of his political connections may have animated him to greater energy in hunting down, in February, 1682, the murderers of Mr. Thynne, who, it was at first supposed, had been assassinated by enemies of the Duke of Monmouth. Sir John Reresby, ■ ■ justice of the peace for Westminster, conducted the pursuit. He mentions in his Memoirs that he and Lord Mordaunt together tracked Count Coningsmark's chief agent in the crime, a German captain, Fratz.

Two years later James ascended the throne. ■■ signalled his accession by demanding of Parliament its sanction to a large increase of the standing army and the offer of commissions to Catholics. Neither the Lords ■■ the Commons would tamely submit. Mordaunt ■■ foremost in expressing the indignation of a majority of the Upper House. Lord Macaulay extols his speech as one of the most remarkable delivered in the debate; as full of eloquence, sprightliness, and audacity. Barillon, the French ambassador, ■■■■ to the force with which

the young nobleman warned his audience that the nation  
 faced face to face with a present not with a future danger.  
 Already the land was occupied by an army officered by  
 Papists, which could have been raised for no other purpose  
 but the establishment of abhorred arbitrary power. It was  
 the first time he had addressed the House, and a sudden  
 prorogation robbed him for the present of other oppor-  
 tunities. He determined to carry his energy where it  
 might find a sphere for its exercise denied him at home.  
 Early in 1686 he obtained the royal leave to serve in the  
 Dutch fleet, which was intended for the West Indies.  
 His plans in that direction were not carried out.  
 Probably they were meant only as a pretext for other  
 designs. It has been said that he passed in Holland  
 the whole interval to the Revolution, and that his wife  
 was with him. Lady Mordaunt clearly was not there  
 throughout, as the reference by Evelyn to her presence  
 in Surrey in July, 1687, proves. It would follow from  
 Gilbert Burnet's and his own subsequent allusions to  
 two or four expeditions for revolutionary purposes which  
 he paid to Holland, that he crossed backwards and for-  
 wards. On some of these excursions he may, while his wife  
 was at Ashstead, have diverted himself in London, and a  
 young lady his companion, by stealing for her a singing  
 canary from a Charing Cross coffee-house. Its mistress  
 had refused to part with it at any price, and the lady  
 was inconsolable. Mordaunt introduced, during the  
 landlady's temporary absence, a facsimile without a  
 voice into the cage. After the Revolution Mordaunt  
 pretended concern for the missing song. He found that  
 the landlady, a violent Tory, far from regretting the loss,  
 exulted in it. He imputed it to the loyalty of the bird,



which from the moment of the exile of James had mourned for him in silence.

Mordaunt ■■■ repeating politically his father's practices of thirty years before, with a difference. His serious business both in Holland and in England was the instigation of William of Orange to ■■■ immediate invasion and the preparation of Englishmen for it. Burnet, the future bishop, who ■■■ residing at the Hague ■■■ the Princess Mary's chaplain, was suspicious of ■■■ seductive a rival in William's councils. He mistrusted ■■■ deadly foe of Church establishments. The breadth of the political schemes alarmed him. In his history he ■■■ Mordaunt's crude thoughts, and intimates that "the Prince treated the plan of an immediate blow ■■■ "too romantical to build upon." Probably that ■■■ the conclusion at which ■■■ cool an intellect arrived, and rightly. The English nation was scarcely as yet prepared to discard James. ■■■ William tried and failed, the chains would have been indefinitely riveted. Had he succeeded, he would have come in ■■■ a conqueror rather than ■■■ a deliverer. At the ■■■ time Burnet's ■■■ evidence does not bear out Macaulay's assertion that William regarded his guest as ■■■ rash and vainglorious knight-errant, whom he ■■■ not likely to choose for his confidant. Burnet declares, on the contrary, that he was thus chosen. He became "the ■■■ whom his Highness chiefly trusted, and by whose advice he governed his motions." His influence, when the Prince finally decided upon ■■■ invasion, showed ■■■ in modifications of ■■■ Declaration of the reasons, which had been drawn up by the Grand Pensionary Fagel, and translated and abbreviated by Burnet. Among ■■■ exiles ■■■ many open

enemies of the Church of England. Their representative Major Wildman, a Cambridge scholar, described by Clarendon as possessed of a pregnant wit and a smart pen. According to Clarendon he had been successively Cromwell's admirer, enemy, and spy. He was one of the Anabaptist subscribers to an address to Charles in 1658, and was a born caballer and wire-puller, whose hand can be traced in all the intrigues of the next thirty-five-and-thirty years. He could not endure that the grievance alleged against James's government should wear the air, as in the draft declaration, of a Church grievance in particular. He wrote, therefore, a counter declaration, to which he procured the assent of Mordaunt, who, indifferent to doctrines, hated the Church for its advocacy of passive obedience. While the Whig refugees, like Lord Macclesfield, would not adopt Wildman for their spokesman, they agreed partially with Mordaunt's objection to expressions which implied that they had risen especially as Church champions. William recognised the justice of their verbal criticisms, and amendments were introduced which satisfied moderate dissentients.

## CHAPTER II

### COURT FAVOUR—CABALS—DISGRACE

THE Prince sailed for England ■ November 1st, after an attempt frustrated by the weather ■ October 19th. Mordaunt was his companion. As ■ the-disembarkation in Torbay was effected ■ November 5th William signed ■ commission for him to levy ■ regiment of horse and occupy Exeter. Burnet accompanied him. The gates, which had been closed, were sulkily opened at the ■ of Mordaunt ■ November 8th; and the next day William with the main body of his army entered. Mordaunt marched, still in advance, into Wiltshire, raising the country ■ he went for the Protestant champion. Dorsetshire obeyed his invitation, and the road to London was cleared. Northwith he rode northwards, to recruit, inspect, and organise. ■ executed his charge diligently, never, he boasted, allowing pleasure to seduce him when engaged in business an inch out of his way.

The ■ sovereign ■ not stint his requital ■ the daring courage and fertility of ■ which had not been the less invigorating that he could not at once yield to their dictates. Mordaunt enjoyed the full confidence of William. The second Lord Clarendon, the Queen's uncle,

enters in his diary for December 29th that he could not obtain admittance to the Prince, who ■■■ shut up for ■ long time with Mordaunt. ■■■ influence ■■■ great, as Clarendon admits with a sneer, when he notes that ■■ February 6th half-mad Lord Lincoln came to the House of Lords expressly to do, he said, whatever Mordaunt and Shrewsbury would have him. Such as it was, it ■■■ ■■ William's entire service. Consequently a speedy shower of honours and offices, small and great, rained upon him. On February 14th, the day after the offer of the crown to William and Mary, he ■■■ admitted into the Privy Council. In March he ■■■ appointed ■ Gentleman or Lord of the Bedchamber. He received the colonelcy of a regiment of foot ■■ April 1st, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of ■ volunteer cavalry regiment raised by the City of London for the protection of their Majesties in July. While holding a much loftier post he rode at its head on the occasion of royal visits to the Corporation. At the end of April he ■■■ nominated Lord-Lieutenant of his own county of Northamptonshire, superseding his uncle Peterborough, and the next month became its Custos Rotulorum. In August ■■■ made Water-Bailiff of the Severn. Probably about the ■■■ time he secured actual possession of the ■■■ of Dauntsey, eulogised by George Herbert for its noble house and choice air. In the reign of Charles the Second he had acquired prospective rights over the domain; but the ■■■ had formed hitherto part of Mary of Modena's dower. With and amidst all this curious miscellany of emoluments and dignities he had been appointed ■■ April 8th First Commissioner of the Treasury, and on the day following

■ created ■ of Monmouth. For ■ whose glory through life it ■ that he ■ peculiarly disinterested, the rewards for public spirit ■ to have been measured out bountifully. But opinion two centuries ago did not expect ■ which trod ■ the ■ to be muzzled.

The step in the peerage is supposed to have been given ■ this date that he might be qualified to take ■ conspicuous place in the ceremonial ■ the coronation. The style of his earldom exposed him to ■ much obloquy ■ his nomination ■ the Treasury. Tzazany, Lord Dartmouth says in his ill-natured notes to Burnet, it seemed that the title must have been selected by the donor and the recipient with the deliberate intent to block the eventual restoration of the Duke of Monmouth's children to their forfeited hereditary honours. The creation of ■ earldom of Monmouth, though not legally incompatible with the revival of a dukedom under the same local name, ■ notice of the decision of the Government not to revive it. Whatever may have been the motives of William, who had not loved the duke, Monmouth, as he must ■ for ■ time be designated, probably had ■ other predilection for the denomination than the memory of its possession by his maternal grandfather. His appointment to the Treasury, which excites Lord Macaulay's surprise, would deserve ■ condemnation but for the exceptional circumstances of the time. He had ■ experience in business, and ■ any rate could hardly be in his place both ■ the head of the Treasury and in the Bedchamber. But William desired to have in ostensible command ■ the Treasury ■ whom he thought he could implicitly trust, ■ one too on whose political principles no star rested.

Monmouth could produce unimpeachable Whig credentials. He had ■ good business aptitudes ■ the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, sour, grasping Delamere, afterwards ■ of Warrington. For the serious administration of the department the King relied on Godolphin, who, once First Commissioner, had accepted the third seat at the Board. Godolphin's service under James disqualified him at present for the apparent headship. Without excessive invidiousness he could be introduced in ■ subordinate capacity, though the arrangement even thus had its fierce opponents. Bishop Burnet says that he ■ brought in to the great grief of Monmouth and Delamere. Monmouth despised Delamere, whom, at the period of the Dutch invasion, he had privately stigmatised ■ little better than a thief for taking £9000 from William for the equipment of a regiment and leaving it shoeless. Morose Delamere detested Monmouth's frivolity. They were irreconcilable, except in their jealousy of their subordinate. The feeling ■ speedily justified by their experience that "the King considered him ■ than them both."

The apparent responsibility for the administration of the finances, of which he ■ no experience or special understanding, subjected the witty gallant of the Court and indifferent economist in his ■ affairs to the ridicule of political satirists and lampooners. But he does not appear to have shown any conspicuous incompetence. The First Lordship ■ the Treasury ■ in no way equivalent to the office of Prime Minister. It did not even imply the practical control in chief of the finances. Monmouth ■ First Commissioner had to preside over the Civil Service. His real province ■

■ finance than patronage. In that the worst charge alleged against him is that ■ sought out for places the ■ most noted for Republican principles. He is allowed to have been generous, and to have distributed offices freely. He did not, like Delamere, sell everything. We know that in one instance he used ■ influence nobly, and would gladly have exerted it on a grander scale. In Holland he and his wife enjoyed the intimate friendship of John Locke. When, three months after the Prince, the Princess Mary embarked for England, Locke, by the husband's desire, escorted Lady Mordaunt, who returned in the Princess's train on February 12th,\* 1689. On February 20th Locke received through Monmouth the offer of the important embassy to William's most faithful ally, the great Elector of Brandenburg. He declined on account of ill health, his letter of apology being written in Monmouth's room in Whitehall; but in May he owed to the ■ First Lord the appointment to a Commissionership of Appeals. He was ever a welcome guest ■ Parson's Green; London smoke hurt him, and there he escaped its evils. So much pleasure, writes Lady Masham, took he always in this delightful garden, that he had ■ ■ to regret the necessity he ■ under ■ a short absence from London. Monmouth's intercourse with Locke during fifteen ■ sixteen years shows uninterrupted delicacy and warmth of heart. He ■ continually grateful for obtaining leave to confer kindnesses. At Locke's request he exerted himself also for Isaac Newton, who acknowledged in the September of 1690 Lord and Lady Monmouth's kind remembrance ■ him, and, whether their designs succeeded or not, must ■ think himself obliged to be their humble servant.

Before the autumn of 1690, however, Mordaunt's official influence had been curtailed. In March of that year the Ministry [REDACTED] essentially modified, and [REDACTED] main feature of the change [REDACTED] a complete reconstruction of the Treasury. Monmouth ceased to be First Lord and Delamere to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. For a short time Sir John Lowther became First Lord, and then Godolphin, a great administrator, sagacious, non-combative, and methodical. Mordaunt discovered [REDACTED] anger at his dismissal. It [REDACTED] softened by a pension, with the promise of the Crown's manor of Reigate, and a grant of any lands in several counties proved to be the property of Jesuits. He continued to attend the Privy Council. When William went over to Ireland on June 11th he invited Mordaunt to go with him, but for some unknown reason he declined. His third brother, Osmond, went instead, and [REDACTED] slain at the battle of the Boyne. Whatever was the cause of Mordaunt's [REDACTED] refusal the King [REDACTED] not have been dissatisfied with it. He named him a member of the Queen's Committee of Nine. Contemporary epigrammatists, who had jeered at the chief of the Treasury, with his hours distributed in morsels among the Court, [REDACTED] State, and the calls of gallantry, vanity, and wit, [REDACTED] yet fiercer upon the jackanapes of State, the whirlwind set to guide the national bark, the arrogant councillor of the Regency. He had his [REDACTED] [REDACTED] home. [REDACTED] colleagues [REDACTED] not trust [REDACTED] another, and him least of all. Nor did he [REDACTED] them. Shortly before William's departure a circumstance had occurred which heightened the mutual suspiciousness. Letters had been intercepted which [REDACTED] addressed to a French agent, M. Coudenay, at Antwerp. They [REDACTED] written in lemon



juice; but exposure to heat enabled them to be deciphered, and ■■■ found ■■■ they reported in detail, apparently for the information of enemies of the new Sovereigns, the deliberations of the Privy Council. They continued ■■■ pass, and to be intercepted, after William left. An alarm was raised that there ■■■ a traitor among the councillors. Ill feeling and perplexity of another kind were aroused by the conduct of Lord Torrington in command of the Channel fleet. A majority of the Committee of Nine, including the Tory Nottingham and the Whig Monmouth, not very good friends, ■■■ the Queen rightly inferred, ■■■ indignant at the delay to engage the French fleet under de Tourville. Monmouth offered to convey instructions from the Queen to fight. Mary affected unwillingness to part with ■■■ of her nine advisers, paying Monmouth, as Nottingham observed, the high compliment of a refusal to make use of his arm, having need of his counsel. By way of compromise a Government messenger ■■■ sent with orders to Torrington to bring ■■■ a battle. Finally she yielded to pressure from two-thirds of the Committee. She commissioned Monmouth and Admiral Russell, also of the Committee, to ■■■ out a ship, join Torrington, and determine on the spot what had best be done. Monmouth, wrote Mary to William, declared that he could do the work with more speed than another, and would ■■■ back if the fleet did not fight. Off Admiral Russell and he hurried, with Major Wildman, who was acting as his secretary. Before a vessel could be equipped for them news reached Portsmouth that Torrington, acting upon the prior directions before they could be

countermanded, had encountered the French off Beachy Head on June 30th, with the result known to everybody.

Monmouth's associates on the Committee were not disappointed at his return without any increase of personal credit. The Queen wrote to William that she was not sorry to see Monmouth come soon back, for that all agreed in the opinion of him. They had not been sorry to be free from his company for an interval. His and his secretary's absence had helped to confirm their suspicions. Previously the correspondence with Coutenay had, the Queen said, proceeded constantly; while they were away it stopped, if it was not only that it succeeded in escaping detection. The belief of his opponents, as Danby expressed it, in his correspondence with William, was that he concocted the letters with the design that they should be intercepted, and be attributed to one or another of the members of the Council in notorious communication with King James. This, rather their composition from his disclosures by the veteran plotter Wildman, is a plausible hypothesis, and the whole presents fewer difficulties than that which attributes them to a Tory friend of the exiles. It is incredible that any councillor in league with James should have gone despatching missives which he knew would be captured and read. To struggle in Monmouth's interest for the relief of his name from the reproach of an underhand manoeuvre by fixing blame on another is, in view of his known character, to labour in vain. The best course is to allow that he was capable of tortuous acts, and endeavour to understand how he could yet utter moral depravation.

He was discontented with everything and everybody.

In the first year of the reign he had tried hard, by a Parliamentary cabal, to secure the Speakership of the Lords from his colleague, the Marquis of Halifax, the apostle of the Trimmers. Halifax had been especially odious to him the too tolerant [redacted] who restored Nottingham and Godolphin to office. But the range of his enmities since had widened almost indefinitely. Burnet alleges that while he was still at the Treasury his ill will extended to the King himself. According to the bishop [redacted] combined with Delamere to infuse jealousies of William into the Whig party. On the [redacted] authority he is said to have permitted Jacobite agents to tamper with his own loyalty. Mary, whose confidants were Tory Nottingham, jobbing Danby, now Marquis of Caermarthen, and Burnet, the Whig Churchman, manifestly inclined to a similar suspicion. She could not fathom his schemes. She was certain that he was the author of the lemon-letters, which, in his conversations with her, he imputed, if not to Nottingham, to some one in Nottingham's Office. She was embarrassed by the claim he insinuated to succeed Torrington. He did not desire, he had intimated to the Committee, to supersede the foiled admiral, who was his maternal uncle, but he was obviously dissatisfied at not being charged with the duty. His offer to go as a civilian and assist in restoring courage in the fleet she did not seriously entertain. It was not fit, she told him, for him who was a seaman, to go to sea without the command. That she did not [redacted] to commit to him, and listened incredulously to his assertion that William had once thought of appointing him, in preference to Torrington, in the first place. His accusations of ill administration, and of the incapacity of

those in trust, his daily [redacted] to her of the great danger they [redacted] in, and his remarks [redacted] the necessity that the nation should be satisfied, troubled her without inducing her to rely on him for safety. Whatever the question, she held herself on her guard when it [redacted] introduced by him. One day, she wrote to William, Monmouth [redacted] with Lord Devonshire to entreat her presence [redacted] the Council to restore peace. She would not come. Another day he [redacted] the mouthpiece of [redacted] promise by the Cabinet to procure [redacted] loan of £200,000 for the public service, [redacted] condition that she dissolved Parliament. She refused in default of the King's express consent. To her Monmouth seemed to be resolved to be either dictator or traitor. Like his colleagues of the Committee, she [redacted] equally reluctant to give him authority to act at [redacted] distance and to keep him by her side. She let him go to Portsmouth, believing, for her part, that he could be best spared of the company. She was reassured by his return. A little later he asked to be sent on a mission to Holland, and again she and the rest, she writes, [redacted] inclined to it for a [redacted] she had mentioned before. From a similar jealousy of the [redacted] to which he might put his independence, permission [redacted] ultimately withheld. William, though he would not yield to his attempt to exclude from office all but thorough Whigs and implacable enemies of James, seems to have interpreted his motives [redacted] favourably, and perhaps more equitably, than contemporaries or later critics. He may have adopted his Queen's evident conviction that the letters [redacted] his, without sharing too vehemently her consequent scepticism [redacted] to [redacted] great professions. He knew better than she how true were Monmouth's warnings

of danger, and of the existence of designs against the throne.

William [redacted] back from Iceland in January, 1691, and in the [redacted] month crossed [redacted] to Holland. In his suite, chosen from those nearest his confidence, [redacted] Monmouth, still of the Bedchamber, and Monmouth [redacted] his companion in the perilous adventure of the open boat off the Dutch coast. He returned with the King in April, and his apartment at Whitehall [redacted] among those which suffered [redacted] severely from the [redacted] in that month at the palace. For several weeks in April and May of the next year [redacted] was engaged in putting Jersey and Guernsey into a position of defence, holding command of the forces in those islands. Soon after his return he was off again to Flanders, and narrowly escaped shipwreck in a storm. [redacted] [redacted] back in July, and [redacted] to have returned to the Netherlands in the [redacted] of the [redacted] summer, though the statement that he served at Steinkirk in August [redacted] colonel of the Royal Horse Guards has been disproved. He returned in October, [redacted] again in company with William. [redacted] he then took up [redacted] attitude in Parliament which estranged him from the Court. He was among the eighteen lords, described by Macanlay as the bitterest Whigs and the bitterest Tories in the whole peerage, who signed the [redacted] against the rejection [redacted] December 7th, 1692, of the motion that a joint committee of the two Houses should be selected to inquire into the whole management of public affairs. This meant [redacted] attack upon the military administration, which [redacted] regarded as virtually an attack upon himself. [redacted] displayed [redacted] open anger. Monmouth [redacted] suffered [redacted] go on acting [redacted] a gentleman of

the Bedchamber, and ■ keep his colonelcy ; but the old confidential relation between him and William was broken, never to be restored. On his part he uttered ■ public complaint, but chose to regard himself ■ victim of royal ingratitude. He ■ deter- mined than ever to shame the King into abandoning the alliance with the false friends of any colour who robbed the true, like him, of their rightful privileges.

During the three following years he found no especial opportunity for striking ■ blow. He occupied his enforced leisure with the care of his fruits and flowers at Parson's Green, and with the conversation of wits ■ the coffee-houses he loved to frequent. Afterwards, when he ruled Valencia, he longed, he wrote, to be free to return to Will's coffee-house in winter. Will's ■ the corner house in Bow Street, Covent Garden, and he had for some time ■ town house in the ■ street. Probably he could ■ himself with other society not so innocent as that of authors and Templars. At intervals he still ■ in Parliament. For instance, in February, 1693, he ■ present at the trial of his ■ connection, Lord Mohun, for the murder of Mountfort the actor. He voted on his honour, and to his honour, in the minority of fourteen against the sixty-nine peers who ■ for ■ acquittal. In December he introduced a Bill for the establishment of triennial Parliaments in place of that which had been passed in the previous session and vetoed by the King. So much umbrage did William ■ length take at his political conduct that in February, 1694, his performance of ■ duties as ■ gentleman of • the Bedchamber was suspended. He ■ longer summoned to meetings of the Privy Council. His

regiment of foot ■■■ given, though with his assent, to his brother, Captain Henry Mordaunt, afterwards lieutenant-general, and Treasurer of the Ordnance. The chastisement did not break ■■■ spirit. He supported in January, 1695, Tory Nottingham's motion for the ■■■ sideration of the state of ■■■ nation. A few weeks later he zealously abetted Wharton's inquiry into the bribes offered by Sir Thomas Cook, the governor of the East India Company, to Danby, ■■■ Duke of Leeds and Lord President of the Council. Though the single available witness ■■■ persuaded to leave the country, and the impeachment, therefore, had to be dropped, he had the satisfaction of ejecting the duke from the conduct of affairs.

The Court seems to have tried to appease him. In April, 1695, Narcissus Luttrell speaks of him as waiting in his place in the Bedchamber. He was, in November, 1695, in the royal suite and riding in ■■■ of the King's carriages when, during William's autumn progress, he was overturned between Grantham and Lincoln and sorely bruised. Overtures towards a reconciliation ■■■ of little ■■■ He was resolved to unmask his rivals, and ■ the end of 1696 he thought he saw his way to a complete triumph. Sir John Fenwick ■■■ deeply implicated in the assassination plot of 1695. After eluding capture for fifteen months he had accidentally been caught in Romney Marsh. Having been offered life in return for ■ ■■■ confession of the conspiracy, he pretended to comply with the condition by ■ compilation of stories against Whigs like Russell and Shrewsbury, and lukewarm Tories like Marlborough and Godolphin, who had secretly coquetted

with James while they actively served William. Disclosures which would injure real unadulterated Jacobites he reserved. When Goodman, ■■■ of the only two witnesses against him, ■■■ been bribed by ■■■ wife, Lady Mary, to abscond, he positively closed his mouth. The Whigs, equally exasperated by his accusation of their leaders and the screening of his Jacobite friends, resolved that he should not thus evade punishment. ■■■ could not be convicted at the Old Bailey ■■■ the unsupported testimony of Porter, but ■■■ of Attainder ■■■ introduced into the House of Commons and read ■■■ third time, though by a diminished majority of 189 to 156. On November 26th, 1696, it ■■■ carried up to the Lords, and there read a first time ■■■ December 1st. Fenwick's original confession was communicated to Parliament, and he, being brought before the House of Lords, ■■■ asked if he had anything further to divulge. Monmouth was particularly earnest in interrogating him. At the commencement, as Lord Wharton wrote to Shrewsbury on December 11th, he ■■■ easy and favourable, and gave him all encouragement to make out the accusations in his paper. To his evident disappointment the prisoner could not be induced to emphasise ■■■ corroborate his previous charges against Marlborough, Godolphin, Russell, and Shrewsbury. Thereupon he suddenly turned upon him with "a good deal of zeal." When, on December 15th, the Bill ■■■ again taken into consideration, he exhibited the ■■■ rage at ■■■ against Fenwick and the ■■■ Fenwick could have denounced and would not. The second reading was carried by 73 to 55, after a passionate altercation, which, but for the intervention of the House, might have had ■■■



bloody sequel, between [redacted] and the son of Jeffreys, stung by [redacted] eloquent outburst against the father's infamous memory. At the [redacted] [redacted] the third reading [redacted] spoke as strongly and fiercely [redacted] before. In spite of many defections the [redacted] was carried in the Lords on January 11th, 1697, by [redacted] to 61.

Previously the House had discovered the cause of Monmouth's hostility to the prisoner. Six years before, in June, 1690, he had prided himself [redacted] the extraction of revelations of Jacobite plots from a youth named Grone. Now he had been flying [redacted] higher games in a similar direction. He had entire faith in Fenwick's tale of intercourse between highly placed statesmen and the Court at St. Germain, and he wished to persuade him to adhere to it. His own secret information fully accorded with Fenwick's gossip. A young [redacted] named Matthew Smith, who had active Jacobite connections, had offered intelligence of their designs to the Earl of Shrewsbury, then Secretary of State, and seems to have been for a time in his pay. From the earl he went [redacted] to Monmouth, whom he supplied with many anecdotes of the good understanding which Whigs [redacted] well as Tories maintained with King James. He related, moreover, that Shrewsbury had been told of the assassination plot, and had kept silence. Though in that shape the assertion [redacted] false, it may not be untrue that the earl had been furnished by Smith and others with evidence from which, with ardent goodwill, he might have inferred the extent of the peril. [redacted] vigilance was, it [redacted] scarcely be denied, paralysed by a guilty [redacted] consciousness of his own intrigues with the exiles. Monmouth's aim [redacted] to engraft Smith's facts, many of

which ■■■ certainly real, upon Fenwick's second-hand confession. He could not have direct access to him, as formerly ■ Crone, but he was able to ■■■ through Lady Mary Fenwick. When Fenwick would not abet him in his work of separating William from untrustworthy councillors, he ■■■ no ■■■ to ■■■ a mischievous and despicable conspirator from the fate he merited. The conspirator's wife could not be expected to recognise the justification for the change of attitude. In her resentment ■■■ the attacks on her husband she induced her brother, the Earl of Carlisle, to inform the House of Lords of the part Monmouth had played. They ■■■ against whom his plans ■■■ aimed, and the majority they commanded, leagued at once with the reactionary Tories to destroy him. Fenwick ■■■ interrogated. ■■■ admitted on December 22nd that when he was before the House of Commons he had received written directions for his behaviour. ■■■ wife had handed him the documents in Newgate. She, he understood, had them from the Duchess of Norfolk, and the Duchess from Mordaunt. The Duchess of Norfolk ■■■ the only child of Henry, Earl of Peterborough, and therefore Monmouth's first cousin. As far back ■■■ 1685 her infidelity with Sir John Germaine had scandalised the town. Her husband had tried to have his marriage dissolved by Act of Parliament, but the Bill had been thrown out, principally through her cousin's exertions. She ■■■ an intimate friend of Lady Mary, who employed her as negotiator with him. The House followed the clue. On January 7th it examined ■■■ oath Lady Mary Fenwick, the Duchess of Norfolk, Mrs. Elizabeth Lawson, who ■■■ related to Lady Mary, a Mrs. Symons, who belonged to her house-

hold, and Mr. Simon Harcourt, ■■■ an eminent Tory barrister and afterwards Lord Keeper. According to Lord Wharton, the duchess "seemed to turn the matter ■■ much to the advantage of my Lord Monmouth as she well could." Harcourt's evidence was not very material: he could speak only of indiscreet expressions used by Monmouth at Will's coffee-house concerning the trial; but that of the ladies ■■■ much more to the point. The instructions delivered by Lady Mary to her husband had been contained in three papers. In the first Fenwick ■■■ told to demand before the Lords that Lords Portland and Romney, William's confidants, should be asked what intelligence had been conveyed to their master of correspondence between James and great men in the Government. They ■■■ to be asked, moreover, why Marlborough had been removed from his places and sent to the Tower; why Shrewsbury had been induced to return to office, and by what pressure. The second paper provided Fenwick with ■■ argument he might ■■ on the improbability that he should have brought false accusations against persons high in the royal esteem. The object of the third was to free Fenwick from a fear that his revelations might irritate Jacobites in Parliament into voting against him. ■■ ■■■ not ■■ be apprehended, urged the writer, that Tories would be incensed at Fenwick for his denunciations of Whigs. At a subsequent examination the witness ■■■ unfolded the history of the concoction of the instructions. According to them the duchess and Monmouth, when they ■■■ explaining the plot to Mary, were overheard by Mrs. Elizabeth Lawson from ■■ adjacent room. Mrs. Lawson confirmed the duchess's and

Lady Mary's reports. No paper in Monmouth's handwriting was produced, for the reason that he insisted on a return of his writings, and copies had to be made by Mrs. Symona. Lady Mary testified also to the utterance of violent reproaches by Monmouth against the King. She said he had reviled the King for intimating to the House that Fenwick's original confession was false when the King knew it was wholly true; he had complained that the King had been ungrateful to him and "the worst of men." In answer, she said, to objection that, though Fenwick, in the general confusion created by his charges, might succeed in defeating the Bill of Attainder, he would still be liable to be remitted to trial at the Old Bailey, Monmouth had bid her have no fears. He boasted he had as much power in the Old Bailey as in the House of Lords, "for he often conversed with those people that were of juries, and he would show how Sir John should be cleared there."

He was heard in his defence on January 9th. Lord Wharton says he behaved with more disturbance of mind than it was thought he could be capable of. His speech, three hours in length, was confused, and it was so late, and the House weary, that it was hard to make either head or tail of what he said. He appealed to his sacrifices for the Revolution, to the four voyages, described by Burnet as two, which he had made to Holland in the evil times, to his refusal of eminent places, to his contempt for money. With a sneer at Lord Nottingham he observed that he had bought a great estate and built no palace, that his hereditary mansion was threatening to fall on his head, and that he was poorer by £20,000 than at his entrance

into public life. He [redacted] the insinuation that so faithful a servant of his Majesty would have maligned him. He had nothing to do, he declared, with the papers in question. The whole [redacted] a plot of the Papists to ruin [redacted] enemy, in which they had procured his ungrateful kinswoman for their instrument. [redacted] speech was received with solemn silence. When he inquired if he should withdraw, the House, at the insidious suggestion of the vindictive Duke of Leeds, decided to judge only the papers for the moment, and not their author, and Monmouth [redacted] thus entrapped into voting by implication for his [redacted] condemnation [redacted] the author of writings he had admitted to be scandalous." The House resolved that the contrivance of the three papers [redacted] "a high crime and misdemeanour;" yet even at this point attempts [redacted] made to accommodate the schism in the Whig ranks. Monmouth and his wife, while they railed at the Duchess of Norfolk as a perjured traitress, were, according to Mr. Secretary Vernon, trying to persuade her to withdraw her testimony. He had [redacted] interview two hours long with the King, whom he sought to convince that he had kept within bounds in this matter. Some of the Whig leaders [redacted] extremely anxious for a truce. The storm had not been altogether unexpected. From the correspondence of Lord Keeper Somers with Wharton and with Shrewsbury towards the close of 1696, it is clear that [redacted] sudden stroke of policy [redacted] Monmouth's part had been apprehended. Somers had promised Wharton in November that he would endeavour to put the Earl of Monmouth in good humour in relation [redacted] Sir John Fenwick's business. He hoped [redacted] he had succeeded. After [redacted]

explosion Sunderland thought it might still be practicable to reconcile Monmouth and Shrewsbury. Somers himself did not want things pushed to extremity against Monmouth, because no one, he said, could be responsible to what degree such a temper might be driven. ■■■ matters had gone too far for it to be possible for the leaders to hinder the rank and file from dragging the deserter to the bar. He ■■■ formally accused, and the proceedings against him settled a point of practice. Then first, according to Burnet, it ■■■ determined that a peer tried for a misdemeanour should sit within the bar of the House. The ■■■ point of etiquette had been raised in his father's favour just thirty years before. In January an inquiry ■■■ made into the origin of the documents. Norfolk vouched for the credibility of his duchess: "My Lord thought her good enough to be wife to me, and if she is good enough for that, I ■■■ sure that she ■■■ good enough to be a witness against him." By a vast preponderance of voices the House ordered that the earl had such a share in the contrivance of the papers delivered into the House by the Lady Mary Fenwick that for that offence, ■■■ for the undutiful words which ■■■ ■■■ to be spoken by him of the King, he should be committed prisoner to his Majesty's Tower of London. It followed up this condemnation by a fervent absolution ■■■ Shrewsbury which amounted to a repetition of the judgment upon Monmouth ■■■ a suborner of false witnesses. After examining Smith it declared his allegations baseless, and ordered ■■■ documents to be burnt. Burnet insinuates that to Monmouth the House would have behaved with ■■■ severity ■■■ the King had not secured ■■■ bishop's personal intervention in ■■■ favour.

The bishop says he the more readily accepted the office from an apprehension of [redacted] schemes of confusion which Monmouth, if driven to desperation, might have opened in his [redacted] [redacted]. To allay, he asserts, the [redacted] of the Lords he put them in mind that the earl set the Revolution first on foot, and [redacted] a great promoter [redacted] it. It is not easy to [redacted] that the House could have inflicted heavier penalties whatever its inclination. A result of its censure, for which the King cordially thanked the House, [redacted] that the subject of it had his name removed from the list of privy councillors, and suffered, besides confinement [redacted] the end of the session, the loss of all his places. The bishop depreciates the practical effect of this too. [redacted] states that the loss, it [redacted] believed, [redacted] secretly compensated to him, for the Court [redacted] resolved not quite to lose him.

Modern historians, and [redacted] biographers, who [redacted] class follow the reverse of the practice attributed to valets, have not been very lenient in their views of the miserable business. Lord Macaulay, who dwells [redacted] length upon the transaction in his *History*, while he panegyrises Monmouth's genius and [redacted] his virtues, [redacted] of "tricks worthy of the pillory." The best which his apologists [redacted] say for him [redacted] to class the affair among historical riddles, or to point out the slenderness of the testimony. [redacted] cannot be safely alleged that the matter [redacted] either incomprehensible or unproved. It is true that nothing written by Monmouth was produced before the peers. The letters which [redacted] Duchess of Norfolk said she had of his, containing a summary of [redacted] the papers [redacted] asserted he had dictated, [redacted] not shown to [redacted] House. Her word is not unimpeachable; but there [redacted]

no ground for questioning the veracity of Lady Mary ■ Elizabeth Lawson. Above all, the whole has the strongest corroboration in Monmouth's ■ character and methods of action. The scheme ■ precisely such ■ his inventive brain would have been likely to devise. Its lineaments prove its paternity, and the one practical question is of the degree of the stain it leaves on his ■. In the first place, it must be allowed that ■ temporaries did not rate his criminality ■ all ■ highly ■ the present age. Within ■ few months after the immediate tempest of abuse had spent its fury his ■ period\* and circle seemed to have forgotten the occurrence. Amidst the multitude of criticisms which his future ■ provoked, no use, or virtually none, ■ made of this ready occasion of reproach. ■ never himself exhibited any recollection of it. The incident did not, ■ might have been anticipated, rankle in his morbidly sensitive organisation. Perhaps a rational explanation may be that he ■ not thought, and did not feel, intolerably guilty, because he ■ not. He had, writes Lord Macaulay, ■ of those minds of which the deepest wounds heal and leave no scar; Shrewsbury had ■ of those in which the slightest scratch may fester to the death. But Shrewsbury had perpetrated a crime which deserved the block. For little more than a caprice ■ best, if not from debasing cowardice or ■ paltriest time-serving, he had sold himself to ■ sovereign's and benefactor's enemy. As he ■ William's bread he was the pledged servant of James. This is the chivalrous, generous gentleman whose perturbed delicacy students of history ■ instructed ■ compassionate. Mordaunt had been far from nice in ■



choice of [redacted]. But [redacted] least [redacted] cannot be said of him [redacted] he dealt in calumnies, or [redacted] he published libels, unless of the legal kind, which [redacted] the [redacted] in proportion to their truth. [redacted] turned against Fenwick when Fenwick would not do his bidding, which [redacted] the [redacted] of magnanimous. He tried to [redacted] the King into recognising the criminal double-dealing of Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Russell, and Marlborough, which [redacted] degrading work for him and an unkindness to [redacted] sovereign. With [redacted] this it cannot be questioned that Fenwick, judged by the standard of his generation, richly merited the axe, and that Monmouth's doctrine that correspondents of James were unsafe supports of his son-in-law's throne might be honestly held by a steadfast champion of the Revolution.

Monmouth's contemporaries are not agreed upon [redacted] demeanour in prison. Lord Keeper Somers wrote to Shrewsbury on January 30th, 1697, that accounts differed; some said he bore it beyond [redacted] impatiently; [redacted] qualified it. Everybody knew that his countess set "no bounds" to her indignation at his enemies. His [redacted] main business, wrote Somers [redacted] week later, [redacted] to get out, and in order to that he [redacted] ready to do anything. He had in the first few days asked the King's leave to solicit the House for his release. William was unwilling to interpose, from [redacted] doubt, Somers surmised, that, [redacted] his release, he would not take the removal from his places very patiently. When he found he could not count upon the King's favour he endeavoured, according to Somers, not a very indulgent interpreter of his motives, to force his way out [redacted] a victim of the Jacobites. The story adds to

the general ■■■ of mystification created by the entire Fenwick business. While Monmouth ■■■ in the Tower Sir John Talbot brought his nephew, Colonel Talbot, to Mr. Secretary Vernon. Colonel Talbot said ■■■ old brother officer, named Brown, had informed him that the earl ■■■ concocting a new plot. Brown, the ■■■ of an Irish gentleman, had quitted the army and become ■■■ student ■■■ the Temple. After ■■■ time his father had his estate confiscated for Jacobitism; the son's allowance ceased and, in company with a ■■■ named Davies and others, he took to the road. In the ■■■ of 1696, he said, Monmouth ■■■ returning from London to Parson's Green by Chelsea when they stopped his coach. It ■■■ no unusual accident. In 1692 Marlborough had been robbed of five hundred guineas. Probably he was not so amiable over the loss as Monmouth, who had but six shillings in his purse. That they took, with his hat, sword, and periwig. They did their thieving so pleasantly, however, that he complimented them with ■■■ expression of opinion that they must have turned robbers out of sheer necessity. He ■■■ ashamed of the poverty of his purse, and asked "how he might place ten guineas upon them," ■■■ ransom, it may be supposed, for the rest of his property. They trusted to his word, and at once gave him all back, ■■■ the silver, which he refused. When the guard from Chelsea Hospital ■■■ to the hedge-side he stopped their fire by calling out that there were none but friends, and bade his coachman drive on. Brown visited him shortly afterwards, showing perfect confidence, which ■■■ pleased his kindred spirit that he made him presents, and encouraged his acquaintance. Colonel Talbot told Vernon

Mordaunt had tried to induce Brown, and also Davies, who was lying in Newgate for another robbery, to assist him in his Fenwick machinations. They were to depose they had waylaid him the year before with the intention of carrying him to France, where he was to be held as a hostage for the Jacobite Lord Aylesbury. Though the catastrophe in the House of Lords had spoiled that project in its original shape, Brown alleged Monmouth was designing its revival in order to surround himself with the halo of a political martyr. All this was to have been an invention of Brown's, whether spontaneous or suggested. At any rate, so violent were the prejudices of the time, so imposed for a while upon the cool intelligence of Somers. Brown failed to keep his engagement to come and be interrogated by Somers, who had him arrested. On March 1st the Lord Keeper wrote to Shrewsbury that, in conjunction with the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Secretary Vernon, he had been examining the fellow at his own house. Nothing came of it, and the inquiry was dropped on the pretence that Monmouth's old Whig comrades did not like to involve him in fresh disgrace. The truth was probably that they discovered they had been cheated by a footpad. They tried in vain to induce Brown to rid them of him by going abroad. In the same way they endeavoured to bribe Smith, who also had eventually turned against Monmouth, to pester them with no more venal revelations.

At all events it was impossible to keep Monmouth long in duress. On March 30th, seventeen days before the session of Parliament ended, he was, on his petition to the House of Lords, discharged out of the Tower.

uncle's death on June [redacted] made him Earl of Peterborough; and by that name he will in future be called. The addition to [redacted] titles may have helped the country to forget his fall. Under no [redacted] honours could he really have disguised his ignominy if [redacted] reputation as Earl of Monmouth had been [redacted] deeply tarnished as is sometimes thought. Lord Macaulay's allusions to this period of his [redacted] [redacted] consistently exaggerated. He [redacted] described by the historian [redacted] being in his prison as violent as [redacted] falcon just caged. Freed, [redacted] [redacted] told, he stood alone in the world, a dishonoured man, [redacted] hated by the Whigs than any Tory, and by the Tories than any Whig. It is added that he [redacted] reduced to poverty. All these assertions, unless that he stood alone, [redacted] pitched in too high [redacted] key. Anxious as he was, in the words of Somers, to "get out," he fretted more in the Tower over his baffled combinations than at bars and gates. His dishonour [redacted] not very palpable to the world, and not at all to himself. Whig and Tory chiefs knew their own hands [redacted] far from clean. They were well content to have repulsed his onslaught. They [redacted] not inclined to rush into paroxysms of fury over his prostrate body. In his ascendancy he had not always been conciliatory and gracious to his equals and rivals. Even [redacted] he had been, prosperity like his would have produced envy and jealousy which [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] indulge themselves. [redacted] did not escape; but [redacted] the whole he [redacted] to have suffered less than in the circumstances might have been deemed his share. The poverty which, he wrote in May, obliged him to follow "the plough and his wife to churn and make cheese, was the poverty of the owner of two earldoms. [redacted]

loss of place ■■■ partly compensated, it was reported, by ■ pension of £2000 ■ year from the King's privy purse. He was, not destitute of friends.<sup>u</sup> Not ■ shadow dimmed the serenity of Locke's esteem. He kept the society of wits and poets. He had hardly quitted his prison in 1697 when Dryden added to the translation of the *Æneid* ■ postscript running over with most profound respect and inviolable gratitude for the nobleman who, careless of difference of interests and opinion, had poured favours upon him ■ frequent that he received them almost by prescription. He ■■ treated with sufficient deference in Parliament. Thus when, according to Luttrell, he introduced in May, 1698, a motion, not mentioned in the Journals of the House, "against the impudence of the actors, upon Powell's wounding a gentleman," the peers received it with sympathetic indignation. The lords with the white staves were directed to desire ■■ Majesty that ■■■ of the players wear swords. But he ■■ without place, and for a time he was without ■ party.

In one ■■■ it ■■ only for a time, though in another sense it continued for the rest of his life. Now and hereafter he remained faithful to the doctrines of the Revolution. For purposes of Parliamentary tactics he began to approximate to its opponents ■ lukewarm adherents. ■■ voluntary absence from the House of Lords did not last for more than ■ year. From the spring of 1698 his ■■■ ■■■ frequently in the list of peers present at debates. He reappeared as the associate of Marlborough and Godolphin, a member of ■ third party composed of Tories who did not regret James and of Whigs who were discontented with

William. On the two or three occasions ■ which before the next reign he played a prominent part in Parliamentary controversies, ■ stood forward, ■ the adversary of Whig interests and Whig chieftains. In July, 1698, he joined Godolphin and Dartmouth in protesting vigorously against the Government for its favour to the ■ East India Company. The House, in February, 1699, had to interfere to keep the peace between him and the Whig admiral, Russell, ■ Lord Orford, in a dispute about the army. He ■ one of the thirty-two peers who in 1701 advocated by votes, and by a protest, the demand of the House of Commons to be permitted to impeach, after its own method, Lord Somers for his participation with Orford, Halifax, and Portland in the conclusion of the Treaty of Partition, and for other illegal acts. He and his companions denounced ■ pretended trial by the peers which only tended to protect Lord Somers from justice under colour of ■ acquittal. His elder son, Lord Mordaunt, had been elected member for Chippenham in 1700, being only just of age. Young as he was, he had been chosen ■ of the managers of the impeachment. On the other hand, Peterborough's ■ enmity against Somers cannot have been very implacable ■ it be true that a version of the *Olynthiaca* and *Philippics* of Demosthenes, printed in 1702, ■ published under the direction of Somers, and that Peterborough translated for him the first of the three *Olynthiaca*. He remained ■ so far identified in popular estimation with the Whigs, whose chosen chiefs he ■ been persecuting, that he incurred the wrath of a Tory House of Commons which had been elected at the end of 1701. An

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election committee reported that he had unduly interfered in the election for Malmesbury. By a majority of 141 to 11 the House, in February, 1702, after hearing him at his request, resolved that he had been guilty of many indirect practices in endeavouring to secure the return of Colonel Park.

## CHAPTER III

### SPAIN—HISTORICAL

WILLIAM died ■ March 8th, 1702, and Peterborough saw ■ official career open anew before him. The feud between him and Marlborough had long been pacified. He and his wife, being out of favour at Court, as was Marlborough, had acquired the regard of Lady Marlborough while William lived. Anne's accession, which gave Marlborough his opportunity, afforded Peterborough his also. In the Queen's first year he ■ reappointed Lord-Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, and ■ nominated Captain-General and Governor of Jamaica in December, 1702. He received the office ■ supplementary to the command, which ■ conferred upon him in the ■ year, of an expedition against the Spanish West Indies. The original intention ■ that it should be exclusively English; but the Queen's Dutch allies heard of the project, and insisted that they should be allowed to share in an enterprise which promised ■ be profitable. When their request ■ granted, they suddenly discovered that they needed their stipulated contingent of some three ■ four thousand men for service in Flanders. Godolphin seems to have been anxious that the English ships and troops



should sail alone and at once. Peterborough, on whom immediate responsibility of failure would have lain, was prudent. He wrote to Locke at the end of January, 1703, that the expedition had fallen, in a single night. He had made his preparations. His wife and he, as Locke's health prevented him in the late autumn from venturing to London, had driven down to Oates, in Essex, that he might say good-bye. He had engaged a secretary Arent Furly, a kind of adopted child of Locke's. He was looking happily forward to a series of successes, upon which he promised Locke, in a letter of December 26th, that he should not sleep, when the Dutch squadron with its troops was withdrawn from the joint expedition. He had received orders for his departure by January 16th. His equipage and servants were already gone. Then on the 14th he was summoned, he said, to the place of wisdom to be asked whether, as Holland needed her ships and troops for other services, and as the voyage was far spent and the winds contrary, he could effect with three thousand or rather two thousand eight hundred men that which he was to have attempted with more than double the number. His reply, he told Locke, was that he was no worker of miracles, and he refused to go to the other world loaded with empty titles. With some difficulty he induced the Treasury to recoup the expense of the transport of his equipage to Jamaica and a sum of £300 he had laid out upon medicines.

For some time he was to seek occupation for his faculties in the arena of politics. With the assistance which, it must be admitted, distinguished his Parliamentary career, he vehemently opposed, and

assisted in rejecting the [ ] for preventing Occasional Conformity. The Whig peers, in January, 1703, nominated him [ ] of their managers with Somers, Halifax, Burnet, and Devonshire at the free conference with representatives of the Lower House which favoured it. His resistance, he told Swift, implied no hostility to [ ] Church, [ ] at all events no friendliness to Nonconformists. But the [ ] proceeded. It [ ] decided to despatch reinforcements to the Peninsula, and Peterborough [ ] asked to lead them. The air had long been full of [ ] of important posts he [ ] to occupy. At last he [ ] gazetted General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Fleet, on March 31st, 1705. He had been restored to his seat in the Privy Council two days before. In April he was appointed General and Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Spain. On May 1st he was made Joint-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet. His instructions gave him liberty to serve [ ] board the fleet [ ] ashore [ ] his [ ] discretion. It [ ] a bold step to commit a fleet to the charge of a politician [ ] in his forty-seventh year, who had not served [ ] board ship for a quarter of a century, and had [ ] discharged active duties beyond those of a cadet. There was almost [ ] audacity in entrusting [ ] army to [ ] who, unless possibly at Tangier at the same distance of time, is not supposed to have been ever in the presence of [ ] enemy by land. But in that [ ] experiments of the kind, when a peer aspired to military honours, [ ] not [ ] Marlborough, when [ ] army was [ ] confided to him, had scarcely more experience. Besides, Marlborough, induced by his wife, warranted Peterborough, as Peter-

borough was proud to admit and as the duchess forgot. Public feeling in general was not shocked by the arrangement. Only one Thornton, a Northamptonshire justice of the peace, spoke "reflecting words" on his lord-lieutenant, and he was struck out of the commission for want of candour.

Peterborough's colleague was Cloudeley Shovel, with whom he had in boyhood sailed and fought. Sir John Leake was another of the admirals. His second in command of the troops was Major-General Henry Conyngham. He was accompanied by Brigadier-Generals Lords Donegal, Charlemont, and Shannon, Richard Gorges and James Stanhope. Colonel John Richards was director of the artillery. Major-General Scratenbach and Brigadier-General Amant commanded the Dutch contingent of troops. The original intention was to have been to aid the Duke of Savoy. Victor Amadeus the Second, though his second daughter married Philip the Bourbon King of Spain, had thrown in his lot with the Allies. He was endeavouring to wrest from the French the Spanish possessions in Italy, and also threatened an invasion of Provence and Languedoc. In September Peterborough was confidently expected at Nice, which, it was supposed, would be his base of operations. Cavalier came thither and was preparing for a rising of the Camisards. The English Ministry did not concentrate its attention upon Spain proper. It thought of the Spanish dominions at large, and, desiring to strike a blow at any spot in them where it would be most injurious to France, began by considering that the campaign which the Duke of Savoy was conducting offered the most efficacious point. Accord-



Badajoz. Landgrave George of Hesse Darmstadt, hero of Gibraltar, arrived on July 11th from that fortress, and a council of war was held the same day. Some present appear to have recommended an attack upon Cadiz; but his peremptory refusal of the Portuguese to assist put an end to that project. A majority, including the King, Prince George, Peterborough, and Galway, preferred to try Barcelona. The Prince six weeks earlier had preferred a disembarkation on the Valencian coast and a march direct to Madrid; now, in deference, it was said, to the English Ministry, he recommended strongly the Barcelona project. He had been a very popular Viceroy of Catalonia under Charles the Second of Spain, and maintained a close connection with influential inhabitants. Not a whit discouraged by the ill success of the attempt of the year before when he had accompanied Rooke, he was certain that the peasantry would rise, and that the citizens would open the gates so soon as he was known to be at hand. Peterborough favoured the enterprise, as the only plan which, after the Portuguese rejection of the Cadiz project, was feasible. He wrote on July 20th to Sir John Leake that all advices agreed six thousand men and twelve hundred horse were ready in Catalonia expecting their arrival, with a general goodwill of all the people. It was decided to sail to Barcelona, and Prince George returned meanwhile to Gibraltar.

Peterborough's army numbered six thousand five hundred, two-thirds English and Irish and one-third Dutch. There were three English, three Irish, and four Dutch regiments. English and Irish were principally recruits, with a plentiful proportion

of gaol-birds. Many are said to have been kidnapped rustics and artisans. Galway, however, lent Peterborough Lord Raby's and General Conyngham's dragoons. A regiment five hundred strong had been raised from among the Catalan refugees and acted as Charles's personal guard. The expedition had been sent out very poorly equipped. As Master-General of the Ordnance the Duke of Marlborough, who thought no campaigning except his ~~own~~ material, grudged ~~an~~ outlay of £13,764 by his department. He had not thought "half the stores necessary." A consequence ~~was~~ that Peterborough's first business ~~was~~ to raise money to supply deficiencies. He induced ~~a~~ Portuguese Jew, Curtisos, to lend £100,000 on bills drawn upon Lord-Treasurer Godolphin. Six weeks passed before he was ready to proceed, though he ~~was~~ not to blame for the delay. John Methuen, the British Minister in Portugal, wrote to Godolphin, who was properly solicitous that the expedition should not loiter at Lisbon: "My Lord Peterborough ~~is~~ ~~a~~ little to need the being put in mind that time is ~~at~~ this occasion of all things most precious ~~to~~ any man I ~~ever~~ saw, being employed every hour, day and night, in hastening all he can." Sir Cloudesley Shovel and the main body of the fleet sailed from Lisbon before the troops ~~were~~ ready. On July 24th Peterborough followed with the troops, having on board ~~as~~ his guests Charles, his minister the Prince ~~of~~ Lichtenstein, and the rest of his suite. He spent on their entertainment ~~a~~ large sum, which is supposed to have been ~~by~~ repaid ~~to~~ him. Paul Methuen, John Methuen's son, went ~~as~~ Queen Anne's envoy to the King, and off Tangier they were ~~sent~~ by Shovel and the fleet.

At Gibraltar, by previous arrangement with Galway, two English regiments were replaced by three regiments of Guards, and by Marines, in all three thousand two hundred seasoned . . . There Prince George joined them with a detachment of Spanish troops. Among the officers . . . Juan Basset y Ramos, a colonel in the Austrian service, and an engineer who had served under the Prince during the siege of Gibraltar. He . . . a native of Valencia, where he . . . said to have followed the profession of a sculptor, but his enemies alleged that he was a fugitive from justice.

At this point the campaign may be considered to have opened, and few in military annals have been more remarkable. It is only to be regretted that the evidence on which the story rests is not a little . . . consistent and unassailable. In quantity there is a deficiency. The drawback is that the whole is tainted in all directions with a violent spirit of partisanship. Peterborough, in every phase of his character and every point of his career, had and has the gift of dividing inquirers into two hostile camps, furious eulogists and furious . . . Dr. John Freind, an accomplished a logician and scholar as he was eminent in science and medicine, attended him in . . . Spanish campaigns as physician to the British forces. Peterborough on his return handed his papers to Freind that he might compile a vindication from them. It . . . published in London in 1707, under the . . . of *An Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain, chiefly since the raising the Siege of Barcelona, 1706*. Though composed mainly of . . . documents, its object lays it open necessarily to

the suspicion of bias in the acceptance and in the rejection of details. In a sequel of a less official complexion the author described the campaign of Valencia. ■■■ in that to have given himself a freer hand, and to have ■■■ into his narrative, with ■■■ without Peterborough's connivance, ■■■ assortment of camp stories. The Account ■■■ followed by a cloud of pamphlets ■■■ both sides, but ■■■ neither ■■■ they of much if any historical authority.

Long afterwards, in 1728, there ■■■ out the *Military Memoirs of Captain George Carleton, from the Dutch War, 1672, in which he served, to the conclusion of the Peace at Utrecht, 1713*. The volume is still one of the mysteries of literature. Its reputed author, who describes himself ■■■ nephew of Sir Dudley Carleton, says that he fought ■■■ volunteer at Solebay in 1672. In 1674, after peace ■■■ concluded between Charles the Second and the Dutch, he accepted a commission from the Prince of Orange. He remained in the Netherlands till the Peace of Ryswick, and afterwards served in England and Ireland. In 1705, the writer says, Peterborough employed him ■■■ the recommendation of Lord Cutts in ■■■ Spanish expedition. Though not a professed engineer he acted as ■■■ ■■■ the siege of Barcelona, and ■■■ on the English general's staff. He stayed in Spain after Peterborough's departure, first as a combatant and subsequently as a prisoner, ■■■ 1712. An officer of the ■■■ was in 1700 a captain in the 27th regiment, then stationed at Dublin, in which year he ■■■ for a brawl placed on half-pay. As ■■■ volunteer, without a particular post, he went to Spain in 1705, and served as ■■■ assistant. Among the Treasury papers in the Record ■■■ is a memorial, dated February



16th, 1722, demanding arrears of pay, by a Captain George Carleton, described as an engineer in Spain. This proves the existence of such a person as the alleged author. The memorialist states that Lord Peterborough commanded him as an engineer at the sieges of Barcelona, Requena, and Cuenca, and that he also acted as engineer at the sieges of Alicante and Denia, where he was taken prisoner. He must have died before September, 1730, when he would have been seventy-eight, since in that month administration of his effects was granted in Ireland. The author allows it to be understood that he employed his leisure in setting down his reminiscences.

Though historians in the last century did not refer to the memoirs as authoritative, a writer of the period appears to have declared them fictitious. Readers of Boswell will recollect how Johnson, when the work was introduced to his notice by Lord Eliot in 1784, sat up half the night devouring it. He accepted it simply as that it pretended to be, finding in it, he said, such an air of truth that he could not doubt its authenticity. In the present century Sir Walter Scott showed the same faith. An edition called the fourth, but really the fifth, was published in 1809, for which Scott wrote a delightful preface, with characters both of Carleton and Peterborough, implying an entire belief in the veteran. Since the days of Scott, Major Warburton, Peterborough's first regular biographer, and Colonel Frank S. Russell, whose work appeared in 1887, agree in treating the memoirs as direct evidence by an eye-witness. Lord Stanhope, in his *History of the War of the Spanish Succession*, is as

trustful. He commends the plain, soldier-like narrative as the most valuable, perhaps, because the most undoubtedly faithful and impartial, of all materials for this. Yet for some time past the genuineness of the work has been very seriously questioned. Walter Wilson, a biographer of De Foe, claimed it for him in 1830 on the evidence of style. Lockhart, in his life of Scott, in 1836, adopted the same view. He allows that the compiler or editor may, as De Foe in his *Cavalier*, have had before him "the rude journal of an officer who had fought and bled in the campaigns described with such an inimitable air of truth." But he thinks there is no compiler or editor, and he believes he knows who he was. He speaks confidently of "a pretty general belief now that Carleton's memoirs were among the numberless publications of De Foe." Another critic prefers to attribute them to a Rev. Lancelot Carleton, Rector of Padworth, Oxfordshire, who is supposed to have previously been chaplain to a dragoon regiment in the Spanish war. The latest theory is that of Colonel Arthur Parnell in his very recent *History of the War of the Succession*. He is convinced that Captain Carleton's share in the volume, if anything at all, was confined to the loan of some rough jottings to an accomplished book-maker. The promoter of the work, who "conceived its production, paid for its publication, and inspired its central position," was, he has satisfied himself, Peterborough, to "the lying relation" of whose actions and conduct much of it is confined. The actual writer, he thinks, was most probably Dean Swift. On the evidence of style it is most unlikely that Swift composed a volume free from a single sarcasm or vituperation. It is equally

difficult, the mere evidence of style, to assign to De Foe a book which not appear in his lifetime, and never attributed to him for a hundred years after his death. Wonderful as De Foe's invention of the method of historical fiction, imitation not impossible; and great is the merit of the Memoirs, it scarcely reaches De Foe's high standard. Probably the share of the editor who put the materials into shape rather less, and the share of the old officer who lent his rather than it has become of late the fashion to concede. But the same time it may be freely admitted that, with such a joint authorship, it is impossible at this date to separate the original from the added ingredients. On the whole, it is too hazardous to cite Carleton's Memoirs a sober history.

Happily for the conscientious enjoyment of the Peterborough epic, the present age, if it has to station Captain Carleton in the limbo of historical romance, has discovered evidences indisputably authentic, and mutually independent, yet telling generally the story. Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Relation of State Affairs from 1678* 1714, printed by the Clarendon Press thirty years back, supplies a multitude of corroborative allusions to the importance of the position occupied in popular estimation by Peterborough as a military leader. Lord Stanhope, in 1834, printed from the originals Chevening a collection of letters addressed from the continent to his ancestor, the first Earl Stanhope, by Peterborough between 31st, 1705, and July 18th, 1707. The Marlborough correspondence includes many letters between the duke and duchess, and between one

■ other of them and Godolphin or Peterborough himself, which shed light on the earl's Spanish campaigns. Both the Chevening and the Blenheim papers accord ■ the whole with the popular view. Still ■ direct testimony to the agreement of the current Peterborough tradition with the judgment of professional experts has been discovered. It is contained in the Richards papers, part of the Stowe manuscripts sold at the fourth Earl of Ashburnham's death to the British Museum, and in a journal kept without apparent view to publication by Colonel James de St. Pierre, ■ officer present during the siege of Barcelona with his regiment, the Royal Dragoons, and found many years after his death among family documents. General Richards served under Galway in the campaigns of 1703 and 1704 on the Portuguese frontier. He accompanied Peterborough from Lisbon as a colonel and commandant of artillery, took a conspicuous part in the siege of Barcelona, and ■ sent with despatches home. He went with Brigadier-General Stanhope, and returned in the spring with Stanhope in Sir John Leake's fleet. After the relief of Barcelona he attended Peterborough to Valencia in June, and ■ July 13th ■ again sent by him on a mission to England. Much credit is due to Colonel Russell for the ■ with which he has collated Colonel de St. Pierre's and General Richards's journals. Statements by the latter, as in his *Memorial of the Expedition to Barcelona*, ■ of especial importance on account of the attitude their author eventually assumed towards Peterborough, whom he judged without enthusiasm ■ sympathy. When praise is awarded it carries double weight ; and for the conduct of the siege

of Barcelona it is given liberally. Together Richards and St. Pierre, of whose substantial existence, with the authenticity of their diaries, there is no question, supply very sufficiently the place left vacant by the shadowy Dublin captain Carleton.

## CHAPTER IV

### CAPTURE ■■■ BARCELONA

AT Gibraltar a plan of operations ■■■ settled, and on August 5th the confederate fleet sailed towards the north-west. It anchored for a time in Altea Bay in Valencia. A manifesto ■■■ here circulated in which the Spaniards were told that the allies came to deliver the Spanish nation from the insupportable yoke of foreigners, that is, Frenchmen, and that they ■■■ escorting the true king. The fortified town of Denia surrendered, and Juan Basset y Ramos ■■■ appointed its governor. Charles the Third ■■■ proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies. At this juncture a project occurred to Lord Peterborough which, in Lord Stanhope's opinion, "exhibits in strong colours his ■■■ union of the most calculating skill with the most chivalrous courage." Philip's forces were occupied either in garrisoning Barcelona, ■■ under Berwick ■■ the Portuguese frontier in watching Galway and the Portuguese general las Minas. Peterborough's plan ■■■ to march straight upon Madrid, which ■■■ only ■ hundred and fifty miles off. Barcelona he knew to be strong, ■ not impregnable; and ■■■ road between the Valencian Coast and the capital Charles, he thought, might reckon upon faint opposition and much active assistance. But

he could not persuade the Austrian councillors, who bent on commencing with an attempt upon friendly Barcelona, after which they professed themselves willing to try Madrid. Peterborough had to yield to them, and to a council of which thought such enterprise hazardous. The fleet, moving onwards, anchored off the of Barcelona August 16th, and narrowly missed capturing a Neapolitan ship, which conveying reinforcements, with the Duke and Duchess of Popoli, into the town.

Immediately it became manifest to Peterborough's officers, military and naval, that they had been brought on a bootless errand. They had been led to believe by the Prince of Hesse, and the *London Gazette* had pronounced at home, that the city was ill fortified and ill garrisoned. They expected that the townsmen would rise and open the gates, and they understood that the peasantry had levied an army of ten thousand to cover their landing. They found a formidable fortress with strong walls, plentifully provisioned at the expense of the neighbourhood which had been stripped bare, held by a force of five, not seven, thousand soldiers under a vigilant governor, Francisco Velasco, well able to repress any mutinous spirit among the inhabitants. The allied army, with the additions it had received at Gibraltar, was little more than thousand, a number utterly inadequate for the regular siege, by batteries and trenches, of a city of the size and power of Barcelona. Only enough serviceable horses survived to mount a hundred and twenty dragoons. The local army, which was to co-operate, had shrunk to a body of fifteen hundred half-disciplined Miquelets, as the armed peasants

were called, after a former and famous captain. Peterborough's instructions obliged him to consult his officers, whether ashore or afloat, before any decisive movement; his Government, which had given him an army, being possibly conscious that a command does not necessarily bring experience. A council of officers consequently convoked on board the "Britannia," the fleet arrived off the city, at which the King was present. The unanimous conclusion of the eleven military officers was that a siege was impracticable, for the engineers declared that the batteries would take a longer time to construct than the Dutch ships, which were wanted elsewhere, could stay. The council offered instead, either that the fleet should sail to the help of the Duke of Savoy, or that Peterborough's alternative of leading the troops along the coast should be accepted. After reducing the country to obedience he could, he explained, find them winter quarters, where they might be held ready for a spring march on the capital. A little later a disembarkation, which was consistent with either resolution, seems, after a failure due to the surf, to have been successfully effected, though the contemporary accounts do not agree on the day. It must have been before August 22nd, when the second council of officers was held, if it be true that every council after that of the 16th met in the camp before Barcelona. The troops landed two miles east of the town, at Badalona at the mouth of the Besoz, in five hours, without any resistance from the garrison. The second council, on the 22nd, affirmed the view of the first, though Peterborough had then come to the side of Charles, whose wish he represented propriety of paying the respect. The King



earnestly entreated that siege operations should be conducted ■ all events for eighteen days, and when the third council assembled ■ August 25th, Peterborough had won ■ his friend Brigadier James Stanhope, afterwards the well-known Lord Stanhope, and Brigadier de St. Amant to consent ■ far. The Dutch commander and several other officers ■ held out; but finally, on August 26th, the council acquiesced in the mounting of ■ battery of fifty-two guns, subject to the conditions that the King should supply Miquelet auxiliaries, and that the fleet, which ■ to furnish the guns, should contribute the means of working them, together with fifteen hundred sailors to reinforce the regular troops. If a practicable breach were made, it ■ agreed that ■ assault should be delivered; but on all sides it was determined that the siege should not be prolonged beyond eighteen days, according to the letter of the King's entreaty.

Peterborough's real inclination and intentions, during the controversy and for the following fortnight, are not easily traced. It ■ alleged against him that he voted sometimes one way at a council in the camp and another way at a naval council; that ■ first he changed his mind almost daily. Prince George and the King never had any doubts. From the first they ■ resolved to besiege Barcelona, and they let ■ rival plan draw them away. Without their pertinacity English military history would have missed one of its most brilliant pages. From Peterborough's demeanour it would appear that from an early period he regarded the enterprise as a suicidal folly, into which he had been tricked by sanguine schemers. Yet the invaders enjoyed several advantages. Velasco,

though a brave soldier, was inert. He had not, as he might have, interrupted the landing, nor was he addicted to the making of sorties. The country, with all the want of information, was at the absolute disposal of his enemies, for the Miquelets, if inefficient as regular combatants, hermetically sealed the garrison and citizens within the walls. But all this was to little purpose against fortifications which were, for the force the expedition could bring to bear upon them, impregnable. The battery manned by seamen, and eight field guns on the hills, barely sufficed to check the fire from the walls, while the nature of the ground, a dead boggy level, prevented the construction of approaches. Thus the prescribed eighteen days were but spent, and wholly without effect. Councils were called both ashore and on board ship, and on August 28th it was decided that further attempts were useless. The heavy artillery was embarked, the stores and baggage were being packed, and notice was given to Shovel that he must prepare to sail. Soldiers and sailors, especially the latter, were sulky at the confession of failure. The King and his Court were profoundly indignant, and the Prince of Lichtenstein in particular is described as giving himself "most horrible airs." Peterborough was the chief mark for indignation. The Germans regarded his colleagues as his instruments, refusing to believe in the ministerial directions to go to Italy to which he had appealed. Violent efforts were made to have the departure deferred, and Shovel, who with his officers thought September too late for a voyage to Nice, seems to have encouraged them. Peterborough was willing to go to a compromise which should disguise

defeat. Freind, whom Carleton follows, reports that he and the Prince had ceased to speak for ■■■■ time, estimated by Carleton ■■■■ more than ■■ fortnight, before September 13th; but though their controversies had doubtless left much soreness ■■■■ cannot be strictly true. An intricate negotiation on the character the campaign ■■■■ henceforward to assume ■■■■ being at that very period conducted between them. They agreed that the troops should march along the coast to Tarragona, and a naval council of war, at which both Shovel and Leake were present, ■■■■ August 31st, stated its willingness to concur. On September 2nd Peterborough wrote asking the Prince to give the necessary orders to his Spaniards for this march, ■■■■ an alternative proposed by ■■ council of land officers to the attack on Barcelona which it had pronounced impracticable. Then, between September 2nd and September 7th, Peterborough and his officers must have been induced to entertain a design for another stroke at the city. On the latter day the Prince assured Peterborough of the King's sincere intention to assist the march to Tarragona, and hoped that Peterborough ■■■■ equally determined to make the fresh attempt ■■■■ Barcelona of which the council of war had approved. On September 8th Peterborough, being busy writing, asked the Prince, ■■■■ at leisure, to spare him a moment, and ■■ letter of the next day from the Prince, avowing eternal friendship and perfect veneration, alludes, though not very clearly, to the arrangement they had made. Apparently Peterborough had offered, if Charles would undertake the responsibility to the English Government for ■■ further stay on the Catalonian coast, to abstain from raising the

siege formally and finally. Charles [REDACTED] to have regarded Shovel [REDACTED] the prime [REDACTED] in the transaction; and Prince George wrote to the admiral [REDACTED] September 10th to say how much the King rejoiced [REDACTED] this good resolution to go [REDACTED] with the enterprise, which he believed [REDACTED] be owing entirely [REDACTED] Shovel. But it is manifest [REDACTED] the Prince, [REDACTED] he trusted Shovel more, maintained [REDACTED] intimate correspondence with Peterborough; that he knew the determination of the plan of the campaign rested chiefly with him; that he and the King rejoiced [REDACTED] the grant by him, with the consent of his council, of any respite from [REDACTED] absolute abandonment of the siege. It is also clear that on September 10th they did not imagine they were on the [REDACTED] of the adoption of a step which has elevated the siege of Barcelona to the rank of [REDACTED] epoch in military history. The fresh attempt on the town to which the Prince held Peterborough pledged, and for which he had thanked Shovel, cannot have been the coming attack of September 13th, since it was distinctly one of which a council of [REDACTED] had heard and approved.

An essential point in the defences of the city [REDACTED] Montjuich [REDACTED] Monjuich, a fort surmounting a hill [REDACTED] hundred and thirty-five feet high, and commanding, as it still commands, the city from the south-west. It [REDACTED] a position of [REDACTED] vast dimensions but strong by nature, and military engineers had provided it with abundance of bastions and other outworks. The officers of the garrison of Barcelona, deeming it impregnable, as indeed it had hitherto shown itself, had not been careful [REDACTED] it very liberally. Peterborough determined to assault it; and the received English belief has been that

■ peculiarly ■ own plan. Richards, who found nothing to commend in Peterborough's subsequent ■ duct of the war, described him ■ "the sole projector." But lately doubts have been cast upon that view, and Colonel Parnell has transferred the whole merit of the design, and, by implication, of the execution also, to the Prince of Hesse. Peterborough is shown very truly to have had little love of the siege. He had proposed ■ Denia to supersede it by ■ march on Madrid; he allowed the operations to be conducted in a half-hearted fashion; he willingly accepted, if he ■ not initiate, the decision to retire, whether upon Tarragona or to Italy. Thence it is inferred that it is unlikely he should have formed the Montjuich scheme, and ■ in his own time the honour was in some quarters given to Prince George, though, as Dr. Freind observes, the Prince had no command in the army, and therefore no power of carrying out the design, whoever may have, been its author.

Peterborough may have borrowed the idea from ■ quarter ■ another. Colonel Russell cites ■ statement by Colonel de St. Pierre in his diary, made with details which ■ very circumstantial and very improbable, that he hazarded ■ suggestion to Peterborough ■ Friday night, September 11th. No delusion is more common among the most honest subordinates in an army than that they ■ the real authors of decisive movements which their chief has the credit of having carried out. Upon Peterborough, at any rate, ■ depended whether the attack should be undertaken, and how. Secrecy was of the essence of success, and it was guarded most carefully on the present occasion. In ■ Peterborough would

find ■ difficulty, for he loved ■ secret, and used to say ■ himself, "When I desire a thing extremely I rather conceal than ■ my inclination." His real intention, which may or may not have been formed some time previously, ■ even now not disclosed to his friend Stanhope, or to Paul Methuen, the British diplomatic agent at the little Court. Richards, being commandant of ■ artillery, ■ to be told, but he did not hear of the plan before the evening of September 13th. The exact period of the disclosure to Prince George is uncertain. On Sunday morning, September 13th, Peterborough, it seems, came to the Prince's quarters, and we may reasonably suppose that the plan ■ then laid before him. At any ■ he had time to send word of it ■ that day to the King, since ■ letter is extant, dated on the ■ evening, in which Charles expresses his joy at the ■ brought him by the Prince's adjutant that the attack ■ about to be made. The army at large, however, ■ undoubtedly kept in entire ignorance. It simply received orders that a force of twelve hundred Englishmen and two hundred Dutchmen ■ to be ready before night to proceed towards Tarragona. The ■ reached the garrison of Barcelona, and it celebrated the discomfiture of its antagonists with festivities.

At six in the evening the march towards Tarragona began. Four hundred grenadiers formed the advance guard. Peterborough, accompanied by Richards, called ■ Prince George's quarters. According to Carleton, he ■ the Prince might now judge whether the troops had deserved the character he had so liberally given them; and the Prince, it is alleged, replied that he could hardly believe troops marching that way would

make any satisfactory attack against the enemy. The story is manifestly a camp legend, except the conclusion that without further words he called for his horse. By ten o'clock he and Peterborough overtook the advance guard. Then the course was changed, and two hours before dawn the column ■■■ at the foot of Montjuich. A body of two hundred ■■■ had missed the path: the remainder halted for rest and daylight, and at break of day simultaneous assaults on other outworks east and west were commenced. Peterborough and the Prince joined in the assault on the east, and Carleton says he ■■■ with them. A bastion towards the town ■■■ captured, and Peterborough with the Prince pursued the flying garrison through ■ covered way, which they occupied and barricaded with stones. Two ■■■ all but fatal followed. First the Prince of Hesse fell mortally wounded by a ■■■ shot in Peterborough's sight, and two hundred of his ■■■ were taken prisoners. He had imprudently approached with his brother, Prince Henry, close to the inner fort, in the belief that the shouts raised by its defenders in welcome to ■ reinforcement from the city were shouts of surrender. Immediately afterwards, Peterborough having quitted the bastion for ■ short space in order to ascertain the truth of a report that ■ great body of horse was galloping from Barcelona, ■ panic seized his men in the outworks. It was shared, or at any rate was not checked, by Lord Charlemont, who had been left in charge. The position ■■■ being evacuated when news of the movement was brought by Carleton himself, it is stated in the Memoirs, to Peterborough. Richards agrees with Carleton that without the ■■■ all would ■■■ have been lost. Falling, says Richards, into

the horriblemst rage that ■■■■ seen in, with ■ great deal of bravery and resolution he led the troops back again to the posts which they had quitted. "The resolution," he adds, "was becoming ■ great ■■■■ We should have lost ■■■■ got, had not my Lord Peterborough ■■■■ up with us, who, as he ■■■■ the sole projector of the enterprise, ■■■■ was he our only support in ■■■■ misfortune." According to Carleton, the capture of the Prince of Hesse's two hundred soldiers averted a ■■■■ evil. They ■■■■ met on their way to the town by the three thousand of the garrison whom Peterborough had gone to reconnoitre. Their statement, ■■■■ being questioned, that the leaders of the attack ■■■■ Montjuich were Peterborough and the Prince, was taken ■■■■ proof of the presence of the whole besieging army. In dismay the relieving column retired. The attack by the other division ■■■■ a demi-bastion westwards had been equally successful. The fortress was isolated from the town through the abandonment of the fort of San Bertran by its garrison. Stanhope came up with a thousand men: five guns taken in the outworks were turned against the inner citadel; and a couple of hundred sailors dragged up heavy guns and mortars from the fleet. On the fourth day the end ■■■■ Colonel Southwell fired ■■■■ shell which blew up the powder magazine, with Prince Caraccioli, the commandant of the fortress, and fifty of his men. The Miquelets rushed in, followed by Peterborough in time to prevent ■■■■ a general ■■■■

First the funeral obsequies of the Prince of Hesse, slain at the age of thirty-six, were splendidly solemnised in ■■■■ Capuchin convent beside the Montjuich hill, Peterborough, who had forgotten old enmities,



making them his own especial ———. Thenceforward ———  
——— down in earnest to the capture of ——— city.  
No longer had either he to complain of sulky criticisms  
and grudging obedience, or the Austrian Court of ———  
mere pretence of ——— siege. Formidable batteries ———  
erected and regular approaches planned. Five hundred  
bombs ——— thrown in from ketches. The defence  
——— as passive as before, ——— much less obstinate and  
confident. A rebellious spirit showed itself among  
the citizens, which Velasco tried to repress by expelling  
the malcontents. By October 3rd ——— practicable breach  
had been effected, and on that day Peterborough  
wrote to Queen Anne, referring modestly to the  
capture of Montjuich, and requesting "supports of all  
kinds for this happy beginning." In vain Velasco con-  
structed fresh intrenchments within, and laid mines.  
Peterborough, who, ——— well ——— the King, ——— only  
too reckless of danger, personally directed the throwing  
of a couple of shells. They tore down the ——— work  
and exploded the mines prematurely. He might have  
stormed the town at ——— but for his numerical weakness.  
Taking his power to do it for the deed, he wrote on  
October 6th to his wife, giving her joy "upon taking  
Barcelona, which is effected." With the ——— ——— of  
perfect ability to be its master at any moment he chose,  
he addressed ——— summons, the last letter, he said, which  
he should write, to the governor. Velasco agreed to  
capitulate ——— he ——— not relieved in four days. The  
garrison, it ——— stipulated, was to march out with all the  
honours of war, to take away with it nineteen pieces  
of artillery with the proper ammunition, and to be  
conveyed by ——— to ——— place selected by the governor.

The gate of San Angelo was ■ he delivered up straight-way to Peterborough.

On October 9th the capitulation was signed. Stanhope and ■ brigadier from Barcelona ■■ exchanged ■■ hostages. But next day ■■ townsmen, alarmed ■ ■ rumour that Velasco intended to transport with him many of them as hostages, ■■ against the garrison. The rioters were aided by Miquelets, whom the carelessness or complicity of the sentries had allowed to steal inside. The turmoil within made itself perceptible to the besiegers, and Peterborough, at the request, according to St. Pierre, of Velasco, intervened. He entered by ■ wicket in the gate of San Angelo, and ■■ joined from the town by Stanhope, who, having resided in Madrid when his father ■■ ambassador to Spain, knew the language well. Carleton says he was with them. Peterborough's first care was to protect a convent in which many ladies of birth had taken refuge, and had the particular pleasure of rescuing from the Miquelets the fair Duchess of Popoli, whom he gallantly conducted to ■ place of safety outside the walls. The rioters fired at him, and one bullet pierced his wig. Stanhope afterwards told Burnet that the Earl and he ran ■■ danger from this riot than during the whole of the siege. The English troops at length quelled the tumult. When tranquillity ■■ restored they would have withdrawn till the day specified in the capitulation but for ■■ prayer of Velasco, who found his authority at ■ end. So the gates were all thrown open, and he was escorted on board ■ English man-of-war. The residue of ■■ garrison ■■ permitted to march out with the honours of war, and by Velasco's desire conveyed to Malaga. Not ■■ than ■■

hundred accepted the terms, very many having deserted to the Austrian side. In one particular the capitulation was not observed. No ordnance or stores were resigned by the departing garrison, Peterborough's being the unfitness of a ragged military rabble for such a charge. To the citizens he was a firm, just, and generous deliverer from a cruel yoke. He had invited all who had lawful claims upon Velasco to lodge them in the town hall, promising that he would see them satisfied. So soon as the garrison was gone he entertained splendidly at his own expense the principal citizens, partisans of King Philip as well as of King Charles. So implicit was the trust he inspired that, the morning after the occupation, the shops and bazaars were all open and transacting business. Some fear had been felt of a freethinking Protestant's possible trespasses on the monopoly of Catholic worship. In answer to somebody in authority who had inquired where he would like his troops to celebrate their devotions he reassured. "Wherever," said he, "I may have my quarters I shall have conveniency enough to worship God; and as for the rest of the army, they will perform divine service among themselves, without giving offence to anybody."

## CHAPTER V

### WAR IN VALENCIA

A MIRACLE had been worked for Charles, who thought his fortunes now assured. ■ entered the gates ■ October 23rd, and was proclaimed King of Spain. Loyal Barcelona prepared a stately pageant, which he ■ from Peterborough's balcony, while the English general scattered dollars in handfuls. At the end of October General Stanhope and Lord Shannon were sent to England, with letters both from Charles and from Peterborough. The King wrote to Queen Anne on October 22nd that the Earl in particular had shown throughout the expedition constancy, bravery, conduct, zeal, and application. ■ expressed his admiration of the troops for their abstention from the ■ practice of pillage, and for their good faith in appeasing the disorders with a discipline and generosity without example. Reports had circulated in England towards the end of October of the capture of Montjuich and death of the Prince of Hesse. The first attack was said to have been repulsed. Then, after ■ interval of several days, a shell, it ■ rumoured, had exploded a magazine, and Peterborough had stormed the citadel sword in hand. Stanhope arrived ■ November 23rd with authentic ■ On the ■

the Queen in person announced the "great and happy successes" to both Houses, and communicated to them the King's letter and [redacted] from that which the [redacted] had written. Parliament in return presented addresses [redacted] the glorious [redacted] of her Majesty's [redacted]. The *London Gazette* published a series of accounts of the exploit. In them praise and regret were awarded to the Prince of Hesse; but it [redacted] assumed that the [redacted] [redacted] wholly due to the "great courage and resolution of the Earl of Peterborough," whom the Prince was said [redacted] have, like Lord Charlemont and other officers, "accompanied."

Peterborough [redacted] neither trustful nor exultant. He besought Godolphin for supplies. "We perish," he wrote on October 12th, "for want of money. I have in [redacted] supported all here with my little stock. I sold, mortgaged, and took up a year's advance upon my estate, got all my pay advanced, took all the money up [redacted] Lisbon upon my [redacted] account that I could anywise get. I have left my wife and children nothing to live upon." He [redacted] forced in November to lay [redacted] embargo, for the sake of the safety of Barcelona which [redacted] destitute of powder, upon half the stock some ships in port [redacted] conveying to North Italy. His [redacted] was a rumour that the Duke of Savoy, not yet, as he [redacted] soon to be, his confidant, had made [redacted] peace with France. The same month Messrs. Arundell and Bates, English [redacted] chants [redacted] Genoa, informed Godolphin that, from a sense of patriotism, they had advanced to Peterborough after the capture of Barcelona a sum of twenty thousand dollars. An appeal [redacted] the generosity of British merchants for such a trifle shows the straits to which the

allied army was reduced. ■■■ magnificent opportunities ■■ in course of being wasted. Even before the capture of Barcelona ■■ the other towns in Catalonia of any account except Rosas had acknowledged Charles. Lerida had obeyed the summons of the Condé de Cifuentes, whom Philip's conduct had alienated. Gerona had received ■ Carlist garrison. Tarragona by the end of September had capitulated to ■ squadron of ships under Captain Cavendish, and to Joseph Nebot, who had also occupied Tortosa. Yet it ■■■ long before Peterborough could obtain the means of garrisoning the last, which by its bridge ■■■ the Ebro ■■■ the key to Aragon and Valencia. He could procure ■■ baggage-wagons, medicine, ammunition, or provisions. He could not so much ■■ get the breach of Barcelona repaired. The Dutchmen, whom he praised both ■■ soldiers and sailors, extolling their docility and good faith, had not ■■ farthing of pay but as he gave it them, and his credit ■■■ gone. He could not ■■■ raise £6000 to ■■■ his own troops from starvation. A thousand ■■■ had already been lost by ill usage. Meanwhile the Austrian Ministers, who had neither money, sense, ■■ honour, ■■■ selling places to their greatest enemies; to Counts Uhlfeldt and Zinzerling, above all, to Lichtenstein, described by Paul Methuen ■■ haughty and weak, and by Peterborough as a compound of falsehood, pride, and greediness, who meddled with everything and understood nothing, pompous in success, and given to crying like ■ child ■■ the least ■■■ He had, however, ■ superior in rapacity and incompetence. It ■■ the captor of Lerida, the Condé de Cifuentes, for many of his con-

temporaries eloquent and patriotic, for Peterborough "maddest of Spaniards," "the Pembroke of Spain," "a Spanish bully," without experience — money, whom — " — of robbers " had made — grandee of the first class and — viceroy. Peterborough — — good hater and — — complished reviler, who — not always spare his English comrades. For example, — second in command, Major-General Henry Conyngham, was — eternal screech-owl. Lord Charlemont he wished to compel to sell — regiment for his acquiescence in the panic at Montjuich. — — ready himself to buy him out with £1500, though he could not assent to the condition that he was to be described into the bargain as a hero. But he had fair — for wrath at the terrible abuse of invaluable time ; and — the only remedy, he craved the supreme command both of army and of fleet, without which he desired to be recalled.

He had hoped, so soon — order was thoroughly established in Barcelona, to extend the sphere of operations. His plan had been to march in person with one division of his army south into the kingdom of Valencia while the other half invaded Aragon. But General Conyngham and the Dutch commander, Scratenbach, were urgent on the need of repose for the troops, and Charles also wished to keep them in the city. At length delay became clearly impossible. Events had been moving rapidly in Valencia, both in favour of Charles and against him. Juan Bassot y Ramos, the governor of Denia, had by — beginning of December succeeded in seducing from allegiance to Philip, Colonel Raphael Nebot, who — been set with a cavalry regiment to watch the town. Raphael was brother —

Joseph Nebot, and [redacted] likely to be inaccessible to arguments. Together, Raphael Nebot [redacted] Ramos [redacted] duced Oliva, Gandia, Alcira, and Jativa, [redacted] then marched upon Valencia, which opened its gates to them. The Prince of Serclaes, captain-general of Aragon, despatched the Condé de las Torres with a thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse to [redacted] the lost province. Four days before the end of December Las Torres, whose force had been increased on [redacted] march, invested San Mateo, a fortified town held by Lieutenant-Colonel John Jones with a garrison of thirty Royal Dragoons, three hundred Catalan Miquelets, and [redacted] hundred Valencian militia, in addition to armed towns- [redacted] Neither the defenders [redacted] the besiegers possessed cannon. The siege lasted thirteen days, and the fall of the town seemed inevitable, when suddenly, [redacted] January 9th, the besiegers drew off. At the beginning of the investment Jones had been able to send messages to Brigadier-General Killigrew at Tortosa entreating relief, and compliance with the prayer would [redacted] to have been accelerated by a report which reached Barcelona, while the besieging force was still on its march, that it [redacted] encompassed by sixteen thousand armed and hostile peasants. Charles wrote to Peterborough [redacted] December 31st that the appearance [redacted] the scene of regular troops would throw the Bourbon army into utter confusion, a request which the English general interpreted by hastening in person [redacted] the relief. Travelling night and day he reached Tortosa. Then [redacted] menced [redacted] extraordinary series of marches, manoeuvres, and stratagema. The [redacted] authority for the narrative is Dr. Freind's account of the campaign of Valencia, to



which he appended his more argumentative apology for the Earl's conduct in Spain, on the ground that the doings in Valencia had been "so entirely concealed." When they had been mentioned, they had been depreciated, he declares, ■ "a ■■■■ of happy temerities." ■■■ desire ■■■ to prove that they ■■■ "the effect of thought and application," that ■ "his lordship had been much favoured by Fortune it was because he ■■■ depended on her."

At Tortosa Peterborough learned that the ■■■■ of the difficulties of las Torres ■■■ baseless. On the contrary, it ■■■ manifest that the siege ■■■ being actively prosecuted by ■ force estimated at four thousand foot and two to three thousand cavalry, all well equipped except for the want of artillery. Killigrew is said by Colonel Parnell to have been on the point of starting to the relief of Jones when Peterborough arrived. It ■■■ for the general then to decide. Colonel Parnell states that the available forces were four hundred and seventy horse, eleven hundred foot, and five hundred Valencian militia, besides ■ train of four guns. By the accounts drawn up by ■■ for Peterborough, the figures ■■■ eleven hundred infantry, ■ hundred and fifty raw Spanish recruits without muskets, and ■ hundred and seventy Royal Dragoons mounted on horses which ■ could not have galloped ■ mile had it been to conquer ■ kingdom of Spain." No mention is made of artillery. In comparative numbers the strength of the relieving army is set down as not more than one-fifth of the besiegers. Peterborough determined to redress the adverse balance by policy.

The march commenced on January 6th. On the ■■■

Peterborough divided his force into detachments. They took by his direction separate paths, all converging ■ Traguera, ■ town six leagues from San Mateo. He hired local spies, whose families he held as sureties for their good faith, and sent two of them forward as if with messages to Jones. One ■ prepared to be captured, being instructed to affect ignorance of Peterborough's strength and designs, and to refer his interrogators for information to the other, upon whose track he had orders to put them. The second, who had ■ suspicion that he ■ meant to be caught, carried ■ explicit letter from Peterborough to the governor, asserting that ■ army of six thousand men was then at Traguera, though it ■ not to be expected Jones "should believe it till he saw them." On the first sight of the troops ■ the hill-tops near the enemy's camp he was ordered to open the gate towards Valencia and let loose his thousand irregulars for the employment they loved and were fit for, the pursuit and pillage of ■ flying enemy. He ■ not to mind what became of the town : "Leave it to your mistresses." He need not try ■ occupy the hills. On one side would be Peterborough's army ; ■ the other, five or six thousand peasants were lying in wait. Las Torres had, the letter alleged, ■ possible outlet but by the way of the plain, and the Miquelets, Catalan and Valencian, ought to make sure of him there. The stratagem ■ successfully carried out. Both messengers were taken. Peterborough had beset all the paths with ■ skirmishers, who intercepted any veracious intelligence, while his regular troops in small bodies spread themselves everywhere about ■ heights visible from the camp. At ■ opportune moment

for the inflammation ■ the panic a mine burst prematurely and blew up forty of the pioneers, and ■ length, on January 9th las Torres gave the word for ■ retreat. Jones pursued the rear of his army a couple of leagues ■ far ■ Perrasol, while Peterborough seized ■ camp with ■ large store of ■ material, and entered the town itself triumphantly on January 10th. But though las Torres had met with ■ check, he ■ still much superior in point of numbers. Peterborough equally feared to pursue him, thereby compelling him to ■ force, and to leave him unmolested in the locality. He extricated himself from the dilemma by ■ ingenious stratagem. Two peasants guided ten Royal Dragoons ■ the mountain to the neighbourhood of the enemy's left flank. Going into the camp the spies circulated hints of ■ plan for blockading the passes into the plain of Valencia. They were not believed, and offered to have their truthfulness corroborated by independent testimony. A couple of Spanish officers were sent back with them, and the dragoons captured them. In the course of a drunken ■ the spies proved their good faith by helping the officers ■ escape, and their statement ■ their return appeared to confirm the previous account. Las Torres made a forced night march ■ the precious passes, and relieved Peterborough from the threat of his vicinity.

Peterborough had now breathing-space for the consolidation of his position in Valencia ■ he were ■ remain there ■ all. On the policy of his stay different opinions existed among the King's supporters. Catalonia, it could not be questioned, was now in instant peril. Peterborough learnt by a despatch received from

Barcelona, while he was pursuing las Torres as far as Albocacer, that three armies were about to invade it. A French marshal, the Comte de Tessé, was proceeding with King Philip through Aragon towards Tortosa: the Prince of Sarclaa menacing Lerida; and the Duc de Neailles marching upon Barcelona from Roussillon. Charles and his advisers, who had but just before been immoderately sanguine, were now in despair. They had heard that Peterborough had ordered a thousand Spanish foot and three hundred horse, entrusted with the defence of Tortosa, to join him in Valencia. Understanding that the brunt of the French invasion would fall on Tortosa and Lerida, they, not perhaps unreasonably, countermanded his directions. Charles wrote to him in terms which indicated his desire that the Earl should relinquish his designs in that quarter and concentrate all his efforts on the rescue of Catalonia. A council of war, convoked by Peterborough at Albocacer on January 12th, took the King's view, and recommended the occupation of a position from which the troops could easily pass to the aid of Barcelona. He had no intention of abandoning Valencia, where all the Carlist gains were to be lost if he withdrew his troops. It was possible that by his progress there he might draw off the attack of Tessé, as is said to have nearly happened. Charles in his letter had, by the use of some vague compliments, left him, as he chose to interpret the words, a discretion. Rather audaciously he availed himself of it. He took the opportunity of his reply on January 27th to the royal letter both to explain his resolution and administer a rebuke which long rankled. "With what I have," said he, "I march

straight to Valencia. ■ can take ■ other measure, leaving the rest to Providence." He wished, he said, to perish ■ least with honour, if the time lost, so much against his inclination, required the sacrifice of him. "If your Majesty," he continued, "had permitted ■ to march into the kingdom of Valencia when I ■ earnestly desired it, without making me stay under pretence of the march of imaginary troops, your Majesty probably had not only had at this time a viceroy of Valencia but the kingdom." At the same time ■ retaliated upon the King's councillors for having presumed to overrule his order to the Spanish garrison ■ Tortosa. He sent ■ repetition of his former instructions, with others in the alternative. If the Spaniards, over whom he had no direct authority, were not allowed to join him, he directed Colonel Wills to bring from Lerida or Barcelona an equal number of British regulars. Dismayed at the prospect of losing the backbone of the garrison of Catalonia, Uhlfeldt, Lichtenstein, and the rest raised the embargo on the troops at Tortosa.

Peterborough, without any real intention of sending away the soldiers he had ■ from Catalonia, ■ far accepted the advice of the council ■ Albocacer ■ to quarter his footsore infantry at Vinaroz. There they had the sea in front, ■ that it ■ at ■ events possible for them to ■ it, either to escape or to carry ■ to Barcelona. He did not stay there himself, but forthwith began beating up the country for a supply of horses. At the head of a hundred and fifty Royal Dragoons he had ■ brush ■ Alcalá de Chisvert with ■ vanguard of the army of ■ Torres, and sent it flying twenty leagues backward. Galloping with ■ insignifi-

cant escort to the gates of Nules, which ■ ■ centre of the French party, ■ offered the town six minutes for capitulation. In terror it surrendered, and obeyed his requisitions of forage, food, and two hundred serviceable horses. Las Torres heard who ■ on his track, and hurried out of Almenara. Peterborough ■ not trouble to follow him, but ordering up Lord Barrymore's foot regiment of four hundred men from Vinaroz to Oropesa, he mounted it ■ the horses he had collected, with the saddles and accoutrements he had procured from Barcelona. It became Pierce's Dragoons, and thirty of its old officers ■ sent to England to raise ■ ■ regiment of foot. Altogether he increased his cavalry force from two hundred to ■ thousand. Not yet content, he started off for Tortosa to hurry up the force he had summoned there. He met it ■ the march, and led both it and a body of insurgent Valencian ■ to his headquarters. Finally, with ■ army composed of four infantry battalions and two cavalry squadrons, making up three thousand and seventy regular soldiers, besides three thousand five hundred Valencian irregulars whom his scribes do not count, he moved forward to relieve the besieged capital.

Las Torres had been enabled by his superiority in cavalry to reform his army ■ after his failure ■ San Mateo. On his march southwards he occupied by ■ trick Villareal, where he butchered and pillaged, and Quart, which he burnt. At Murviedro, the site of Saguntum, he placed his sick and wounded under shelter of the castle, which ■ brave Irishman, Colonel Daniel Mahony or Mahoni, in the French service, held with eight hundred Irish dragoons. He himself moved within

six miles of Valencia, and joined his forces with a body of two thousand three hundred led from Castile by Philip's viceroy of Valencia, the Duke of los Arcos. Together they blockaded the city, and repulsed with loss the sallies of Bassot y Ramoa. Nothing but their want of artillery prevented an effectual assault; but they soon quarrelled, and las Torres threw up his command. By this time Peterborough had arrived at Murviedro. A rapid stream with a fortified bridge overlooked by a castle, which was in Mahoni's hands, blocked his progress. Between the opposite shore and the city stretched a wide plain, which would give an advantage to the enemy's cavalry if los Arcos offered battle. Peterborough concocted an elaborate, indeed a superfluously elaborate, scheme for removing the obstacle without positive violence. He paraded a body of men on the neighbouring hillside, and invited Mahoni to an interview, with whom he was connected through his aunt, the late Lady Peterborough. At first he endeavoured, or affected to endeavour, to win Mahoni over to the side of King Charles. He pleaded the uselessness at all events of exposing Murviedro, which Mahoni could not defend with his horsemen, to the horrors of an assault by an overwhelming force. Mahoni was convinced. He agreed to surrender the castle and he allowed to convey away the sick who were in the town. Thereupon, according to the story, two Irish dragoon officers, probably seduced from Mahoni, were instructed by Peterborough to go to los Arcos. They told him they had overheard a promise by Peterborough to obtain Mahoni's promotion to the command of two thousand Irish Catholics with the rank of major-general, and hinted

immediate gift of five thousand pistoles. In proof they predicted that a message would be sent by Mahoni requesting him to march forthwith to a point in the plain where he apprehended an attack. In due course a messenger arrived asking the viceroy for assistance in the convoy of the wounded, which seemed to los Arcos to prove Mahoni's treachery. The two Irish officers, returning to Murviedro, spread a suspicion among the multitude of the commandant's perfidy, while Peterborough produced a panic by a discharge of musketry on the river-banks. Mahoni, seeing symptoms of a tumult, consented to the parade of English dragoons outside the wall, to be ready in case of disturbances for the maintenance of order and for the defence of the citizens from the foreign soldiery. Mahoni's men, with their train of sick, took alarm at the mysterious complication; their march became a flight, and the fright extended to the Bourbonist viceroy's camp. The whole surprising and discreditable tale is told by Freind, Peterborough's apologist, without the least intimation of a shadow of shame. The best to be supposed is that the imagination of the camp may have invented, a deeply coloured, Peterborough's personal part in the circumstances which led to doubts of Mahoni's fidelity. Suspicions easily might have sprung up spontaneously, and Peterborough would be too cynical to repudiate his individual responsibility for their rise.

In any case Mahoni evacuated the castle and town on February 3rd. Los Arcos had him arrested as a traitor, and sent him to Madrid, where, however, he quickly cleared himself of the charge. The road to Valencia



entirely open, and on February 4th Peterborough entered the city in triumph, amidst "extraordinary demonstrations of joy," as the *London Gazette* reported. For four nights the streets were illuminated, and the monks and ladies were represented as being particularly enthusiastic in their welcome. By all he was hailed as a deliverer from the attacks of los Arcos and from Basset y Ramos, whose tyranny, according to Peterborough "not conceivable," had, the stories of it be authentic, been such as completely to justify the Earl's ungracious reception of him. Charles at Barcelona seemed to esteem Peterborough's services as highly as the Valencians. He conferred upon him full powers for the civil administration of the province, having already given him a commission of captain-general in the Spanish service. Unfortunately his strength for operations in the field appears to have been in no way equal either to the splendour of his titles or to the extent of territory which owned his rule. In Valencia he had, by his own calculations, those of his mouthpieces, more than about three thousand. Possibly he reckoned only regular troops, his one thousand and seventy horsemen, and Donegal's, Mountjoy's, Gorges's, and Colberg's infantry regiments, which mustered two thousand. He would not count his Valencian militiamen, who are said to have been three thousand five hundred. From Colonel Parnell's computation it would appear that he also omitted two thousand four hundred regulars, horse and foot, Spaniards and Neapolitans, whom he had summoned, much against the inclinations of Charles, from Tortosa and Lerida. If that be the accurate account, he must have outnumbered the opposing forces, again under the

command of las Torres, who had replaced los Arcos. Las Torres had led from Aragon two thousand five hundred men, and los Arcos ■■■ thousand from Castile. Some important reinforcements, by which las Torres expected to correct, and ■■■ than correct, any inferiority, Peterborough succeeded by his energy in intercepting. Sixteen twenty-four-pounders, ■ the way from Alicante, would have silenced the English artillery, and four thousand Castilians were close ■ hand to supply numerical deficiencies. The Earl fitted out eight hundred foot and four hundred horse, who in the night forded the Jucar without detection, fell at early morning upon the unsuspecting Castilians, and, as much to the surprise of the Valencians ■ of las Torres, re-entered the gates with six hundred prisoners. Shortly afterwards a detachment despatched by Peterborough seized the Alicante guns and their ammunition. Again, his sagacity, aided by the alertness of his volunteer intelligence department, served chiefly by devoted monks, and by ladies whom he had the strange gift of fascinating without rousing the jealousy of their lords, enabled him to guess and anticipate the enemy's design of occupying Sueca and Alcira. The two places ■■■ commanded the bridge of Cullera over the Jucar, and his supplies would have been cut off. With all this, however, he had disastrous experience that he must not rely upon the firmness of his native auxiliaries in a direct encounter with trained troops, unless he ■■■ actually at their head. Thus he had conceived an admirable plan for a combined attack by himself, and by the six hundred foot and four hundred horse he had stationed in Alcira, upon ■ division of the besiegers cantoned in villages

fifteen miles from the city. ■■■ at the rendezvous by daybreak, and by signal ■■■ sallied the Alcira garrison. Unexpectedly it came upon a picket of twenty Castilian soldiers; instantly the whole body fled, so panic-stricken that the men slew many of their own ■■■ rades, and only his arrival hindered a ■■■. With difficulty he restored order, and then opposed ■■ sturdy a resistance to the pursuers that they ■■■ not venture to press their advantage.

Subject to such occasional disappointments, his ■■■ in Valencia ■■■ marvellous, and opened to him a grand vista. He looked on the acquisition of Valencia for King Charles ■■ part of a vast programme. His design was at ■■■ to distract Bourbon counsels by the danger there, and to use Valencia as a magazine of resources against the invaders of Catalonia. Everything was possible if his ■■■ Government would but support him, and if he ■■■ allowed to maintain his independence of action against the incompetent and corrupt Austrian Court. He had done wonders in the face of the greatest discouragements. He had ■■■ back for Charles the hearts of the Valencians whom Bassot y Ramos had estranged, and, ■■ he truthfully asserted, he had such assurance from the Spaniards ■■ ■■■ could hardly believe they would give to a foreign heretic. He had created ■■ army which would fight bravely and skilfully enough behind cover, though the officers might be ■■■ robbers, and the soldiers cowards. He, an English Protestant, had effected the whole in a most bigoted corner of Spain, and with the minimum of help from Protestant England. "The first money," he wrote ■■ Godolphin ■■ March 29th, "I

touched ■■■■ two nights ago. Judge, my lord, ■■■■ trial—information of ■■■■ of enemies from all parts, without ■ letter in near five months, without any assistance of ■■■■ money, without any ground for hopes.”

## CHAPTER VI

### BARCELONA

WHILE Peterborough, by military genius, statesmanship, and sympathy, ■■■ making of the loyalty of Valencia a stronghold for Charles, of which he ■■■ for long afterwards to reap the benefit, the safety of Barcelona and the King himself was seriously threatened. The capture of Barcelona had alarmed and irritated Philip and his grandfather. ■■■ de Tessé, recalled from the Portuguese frontier, led an army into Aragon. On January 21st, 1706, he was ■■■ Saragossa, and ready to follow the ■■■ of the Ebro into Catalonia. His own plan ■■■ to commence by cutting the communications between Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, and he would have postponed his march upon Barcelona till, to guard his line of retreat, he had captured Lerida, Tortosa, and Gerona. The French Government as well ■■■ Philip's Spanish adherents preferred ■■■ immediate attack upon Barcelona. The marshal ■■■ instructed not to waste strength on his communications with Aragon. ■■■ base was to be ■■■ French fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line, eighteen frigates, galleys, and bomb vessels, and a hundred and eighty-four transports laden with ■■■ siege train, ammunition, and provisions, which ■■■ sailing

under the Comte de Toulouse from Toulon. General Conyngham, who was in command at Lerida, checked the cost of his own Tessed's progress for a moment, but the enemy was too powerful to be finally repulsed. In the second week of March Philip arrived in the camp. A bridge was thrown by Tessed over the Ebro at Lerida, where Landgrave Henry of Hesse Darmstadt had succeeded Conyngham as governor: on March 17th Catalonia was entered; and notwithstanding the resistance maintained among the mountain passes by Cifuentes and eight to ten thousand Miquelets, the invaders sat down before Barcelona on April 3rd. About the same time General de Légal arrived from Roussillon with nine thousand men, chiefly drawn from the French armies of the Rhine and Flanders, and fifteen field-guns, and two days previously the Toulon fleet had cast anchor in the roads. Tessed's own force numbered twelve thousand. In all, his army contained thirty-six battalions of French and four of Spanish infantry with thirty squadrons of French and six of Spanish cavalry; Colonel Parnell, however, differs as to the Spanish constituents, placing the total at twenty-one thousand, of whom all, except two troops of horse, were Frenchmen. The camp is said to have covered fifteen miles. Barcelona was at first very inadequately defended. The garrison was scanty. It had been necessary to rob it of Hamilton's foot regiment, a battalion of Neapolitans, and some Catalan recruits for the supply, it is asserted, of Lerida and Tortosa, from which Peterborough had withdrawn two thousand four hundred men for his Valencia campaign. Colonel Parnell reckons the regular garrison of Barcelona by the end of March at about

fourteen hundred, with a [redacted] English train and [redacted] Spanish gunners from Velasco's troops. Dr. Freind puts [redacted] at only five hundred when the enemy was five leagues off. But on April 3rd Hamilton's foot, numbering four hundred, rejoined from Tortosa: Lord Donegal, with St. Amant, eluding the blockading fleet, introduced eighteen hundred [redacted] from Gerona, where he was governor in the place of Scratenbach who had died; and a dismounted detachment of Conyngham's dragoons slipped in from Lerida. With these the total strength by the end of the first week of April [redacted] nearly four thousand regulars, [redacted] than half being English and Dutch. In addition five thousand citizens had volunteered for defensive duties, and there were fifteen hundred Miquelets. Outside, Prince Henry and Cifuentes, who may have been mad but [redacted] certainly a most efficient partisan, so harassed Tessé's [redacted] that he lost all communication with the interior, and but for the fleet would have starved. The city [redacted] never so beleaguered that the entrance of Miquelets and provisions [redacted] entirely barred. Still the siege works went steadily on. So early as April 4th the Capuchin convent [redacted] the foot of Montjuich was captured. On the 13th General de [redacted] Para, the chief French engineer, "the most famous of France," says Freind, was able to cannonade the Montjuich fort itself, which since the former siege had been greatly strengthened by Colonel Petit, the English chief engineer. In the face of an obstinate resistance by Donegal, who [redacted] in command, the besiegers made continual though slow progress, and on the 21st they stormed, when Donegal was killed, and [redacted] except the keep [redacted] taken. That, having become untenable, [redacted] evacuated by Count Uhlfeldt, the governor of Barcelona, on April 25th.

Not till the crisis of ■ assault ■ Montjuich ■ Peterborough appear in person ■ the scene. Had his counsels prevailed, his presence elsewhere would have continued to be ■ necessary and beneficial. In a letter of March 13th, before the siege ■ begun, he had entreated Charles to quit the town. His plan, which he prayed might be kept ■ secret from every ■ but the Portuguese ambassador, was that Charles should leave Prince Henry viceroy of Catalonia, under orders to follow his advice "in what concerned the war." He "would undertake to maintain Catalonia and Valencia, and perhaps open the way to Madrid." Charles himself ■ to embark on one of the ships he had ready at Denia, ■ French vessel being on the coast to endanger the passage. Within a week the King, he engaged, would be in Portugal, where twenty-five thousand troops were opposed on the Spanish border to five thousand of Philip's. Nothing ■ in the way to prevent a triumphal progress to Madrid. "This, sir," he exclaimed in his letter, "perhaps ■ the finest stroke in politics that any ■ has produced, and the least expected." The King's withdrawal, far from being an unfair desertion of the Catalans, ■ the greatest kindness Charles could render them. He was the prize that rendered the capture of Barcelona valuable to his rival, and his departure would chill the ardour of the attack. Charles ■ not leave the town. Marshal de Tessé's French biographer asserts that originally he had desired to go, and ■ restrained only by a popular tumult. When he found ■ impossible, he declared that the Virgin and two Angels had assured him he might safely stay. After the capture of Montjuich once more he would have gone, and





Spanish campaigns that "he had rarely if ■ party of thirty horse without himself personally leading them." Some exploits, however, seem to have been erroneously attributed to him. Thus he is described ■ having conducted the Gerona garrison, with its chief Lord Donegal, into the city which it had really entered ■ fortnight before his arrival. ■ commonly the credit of his initiative has been transferred to others. Though the degree of his direct authority ■ the foreign troops of Charles is somewhat obscure, he evidently ■ recognised as chief in command over the whole of the forces when he was on the spot. For movements such ■ the skilful introduction of bodies of Neapolitan soldiers into the town by Prince Henry on April 23rd, and again on April 29th, he must be presumed to have been responsible, and deserves, along with the actual leader, to be praised.

He soon ■ compelled to recognise that he and the Miquelets could not ■ the place by themselves. The town might have been stormed, he says, "almost any time after about May 1st." The sole remaining hope ■ in the advent of the British fleet, and that he set himself to hasten. Queen Anne's Government had at ■ promised the reinforcements which, through his friend Stanhope and directly by letters to Godolphin, he and King Charles ■ been soliciting since his capture of Barcelona; but ■ slow in redeeming its pledge. At length £250,000 ■ voted by the House of Commons for the service of Charles, and five fresh regiments with draughts for those already engaged ■ ordered to proceed to Spain. The total ■ reckoned by Colonel Parnell as approxi-

mating to five thousand men. Some        to be         
 veyed by Commodore Price from Plymouth, with six  
 sail of the line and a Dutch squadron, and the rest  
 from Cork by Commodore Walker, with five men-of-  
        Sir George Byng was to bring thirteen ships from  
 Portsmouth. Stanhope, appointed ambassador to Charles  
 in place of Paul Methuen, and the Count of Noyelles, a  
 Spaniard in the Dutch service whom Charles had in-  
 vited to lead his Spanish forces, embarked with Price.  
 Vice-Admiral Sir John Leake, who already had under  
 him a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line and twelve  
 frigates,        to command the entire fleet, and with  
 Lieutenant-General Hugh Wyndham Leake embarked  
        to Conyngham. Not till May 3rd was  
 the whole expedition, consisting of thirty-nine English  
 sail of the line and thirteen Dutchmen, with frigates and  
 transports, united near Altea. There is        conflict  
 of evidence on the dates of Leake's movements down  
        the day on which he bent his        directly to  
 Barcelona. He appears, after the utmost allowance for  
 contrary winds, and whether he stopped twelve days  
 in Altea Bay or two, to have been at least extremely  
 cautious for an English admiral. Until all the sub-  
 sidiary squadrons he expected should have arrived he  
        unwilling to confront the Comte de Toulouse; and  
 only under the pressure of an urgent letter from King  
 Charles had a council of        at Gibraltar decided to  
        to Altea, and thence to Barcelona,        should  
 be ascertained that the enemy numbered        more than  
 twenty-seven sail.

Leake's lazy humour and unwillingness to stir one  
 step out of the way, as Peterborough described his

conduct, may well have been increased by a manifest difference of policy in the authorities he served. Peterborough originally received a joint commission as admiral of the fleet which Shovel commanded, and this seems to have been renewed and confirmed in a way which gave him a controlling jurisdiction over the fleet in charge of Leake. Writing from Valencia in virtue of such powers, on March 21st and 25th, he sent Leake orders, which arrived on April 2nd, to land the troops at Grao, the port of Valencia, at Denia, or at Altea, whence the fleet was to sail at once to Barcelona against the French ships; his design being, when he had united the fresh troops with his own, to march at once on Madrid. On March 28th, in a letter received by Leake on April 17th, he repeated his injunctions; any troops sent towards Barcelona were sent, he declared, "so far out of the way." On April 7th, the day on which he started for the Miguelet camp outside Barcelona, he wrote a fresh letter, in which he reminded Leake, who received it on April 29th, of his supremacy at sea as well as by land. He intimated that his directions had a prior right to obedience over those which he said he had given, to the effect that Leake was to convey the troops to Barcelona instead of Valencia. By the middle of April it was known in England that he had ordered Leake to land the soldiers at Altea, and thence sail to fight Toulouse at Barcelona, and no doubt he felt at home of his authority to direct Leake's movements. Gorges, Peterborough's lieutenant in Valencia, himself, on the night of April 29th, carried on board the flagship orders from the general that

troops should be landed, part in Valencia and Tortosa. By other letters received together by Leake on May 7th, the admiral directed to land the of the troops at Vinaroz or Tarragona, reserving a thousand for Barcelona, the motive being that the fleet should not be encumbered in a fight by the presence of superfluous soldiers and transports. Leake, with the warships, entreated to hurry forwards. The destiny of Spain, he warned, depended upon the arrival of thirty of her Majesty's ships before the taking of Barcelona. Peterborough the fretted, and Leake may have been the less disposed to act with sharp promptitude, that the Austrian Court, he knew, giving dissimilar orders to the admiral. It constantly calling for the immediate conveyance of every of the reinforcements to the besieged city. On May 7th in particular Leake received from Charles an importunate prayer not to linger, to disembark the troops elsewhere, "as some persons may pretend to direct you, for they be nowhere as necessary as in this town, which is the very point being lost for want of relief." It has been alleged recently that Leake complied with the request of Charles and altogether disregarded Peterborough's, thereby saving Barcelona from capture and Austrian cause from ruin. It had been charged in Queen Anne's reign by the general's critics that "Sir John Leake relieved Barcelona, if not directly contrary, least not pursuant, to Lord Peterborough's method." The admiral's neglect of Peterborough's right authority is than his zeal in obeying the King. loitered to an extent for which the difficulties of navigation before steam, and the pertinacity

of a strong north-west wind, can scarcely have been altogether accountable; and he may be suspected he would have been still deliberate but for the blow sharply administered to him by Peterborough.

Stanhope from the fleet and Peterborough from the shore kept up an active correspondence, and the former in vain urged Leake to hasten on without waiting for Byng. He had arranged with Peterborough that the receipt of a blank sheet of paper cut in a particular way, which would compromise a messenger it might be found upon, should be the sign that the several squadrons had united in Altea Bay and were ready to sail together for Barcelona. At last the token came. Peterborough had ready a thousand English marines and four hundred Dutch infantry, and with these he instantly set out for Sitjes, twenty-one miles from the city. Within a couple of days he had collected three or four hundred boats for the transport of his whole force, and embarked in a felucca with a single aide-de-camp, after giving orders to his officers to make for Barcelona in their boats with all their troops so that they might hear firing. It was necessary for him to go in person, since his naval supremacy commenced "whenever he thought fit to go on board." All night he lay out at sea waiting for the ships, but no trace of them could be discovered and with morning he returned ashore. The day he spent on a hill, watching. A messenger from Charles who had run the blockade implored immediate succour; it was impossible, wrote the King, to protract the defence. He again to sea put Peterborough. He was anxious for the safety of the city; he was equally anxious that the French admiral should not hear of the

approach of ■ overwhelming a navy and escape from the trap. He hoped to be in time to leave part of the fleet behind, ■ that Toulouse, when the approach of the Allies ■ announced, might imagine himself a match for them. Farther and farther he bade ■ boatmen push, till suddenly through the darkness a British warship, the "Leopard," ■ descried. Going on board he ■ took command and ■ his orders to Leake. In the ■ of the morning he shifted his quarters to the "Prince George," the flagship, when the Union Jack was hoisted at the maintop. Mr. Paul Methuen asserted that for this Peterborough ■ very ill with the seamen, and particularly with Sir John Leake; but the offence could not have been the hoisting of the flag, which ■ the mere result of the presence of the commanding officer. It must have been thought he had no business, by coming ■ board either the "Leopard" ■ the "Prince George," to avail himself of ■ technical right under his commission to take the naval command out of a professed sailor's hands. He had none, unless he sincerely believed, as in the circumstances he had some ground for believing, that the fleet, ■ handled by him, ■ likely to relieve Barcelona instantly, and also to bring the Comte de Toulouse ■ ■ decisive battle. Off Sitjes the flotilla, with his troops ■ board, joined; ■ May 8th the entire fleet moored in the Barcelona roadstead, and the ■ evening Peterborough disembarked the troops. ■ found ■ French ships to encounter. The Comte de Toulouse had learnt that the confederate fleet was ■ hand, and how strong ■ was, when it was still eighteen miles away, ■ ■ forthwith sailed for Toulon. ■ he been more obstinate, reckless, or con-

fidant Peterborough might have been the hero of a signal maritime victory as well as of a couple of famous sieges.

The arrival of the fleet gave Barcelona absolute safety on the sea-front. By land it lay almost as entirely before at the mercy of the enemy. All military evidence pointed in the conclusion that, after the flight of Toulouse, a vigorous assault could hardly have been resisted. Notwithstanding the additions to the garrison, the besiegers, who were reckoned in Tessé's memoirs at fifteen thousand, remained stronger in number. The defenders, worn out by the incessant toils of thirty-five days, were inclined still to despair, and all Peterborough's energy was required to put heart into them. Fortunately Tessé had been moved more than the garrison by the operations of Peterborough and the Miquelets in severing communications. All the passes into Aragon had been seized, and he could obtain neither intelligence nor supplies from central Spain. If he eluded the vigilance of his opponents, and pierced through the obstacles to his retreat by the road to Tortosa, and by that to Lerida, he was aware that he would have to fight Galway and das Minas, who were advancing to Madrid and were stronger than he. In Barcelona itself, if he took it, his King's person would be exposed to extreme danger. His base of operations had been the French fleet in the roads, and that was gone. Philip bent on more attack on the fortifications, but Tessé persuaded a council of war to overrule him, and on the night of May 11th the French army began its retreat towards Roussillon by Perpignan, discouraged by the total eclipse, on the day before, of the sun, which was the Bourbon emblem. On the morning of the retiring



army hung the Miquelets, who had guessed the French movement and were fully prepared to take advantage of it. Afterwards it was made a subject of accusation against Peterborough that the regular troops did not join in the pursuit, and the omission certainly was strange. An excuse, though scarcely sufficient, may be that Peterborough feared the risk of a battle, for the French army was superior in strength. Tessé carried off his baggage, but not his siege-train of a hundred and seventy-five brass guns, thirty mortars, and three thousand barrels of powder, nor an immense stock of flour. To the surprise of the Allies he left the whole untouched. He was able to convey with him two thousand sick and wounded; nine hundred, for want of transport, he was obliged to leave. On their behalf he wrote to Peterborough: "My Lord, you serve me with circumstances more glorious for you, and more mortifying for me, than last year I did my Lord Galway in the siege of Badajoz. You perceive the miserable necessity I am under of raising this siege by the arrival of your fleet and the retreat of ours. The fortune of France makes your glory, and this day my misfortune." Peterborough granted the request, and provided generously, as the French acknowledged, for the medical treatment of his unbidden guests.

It occurred to Tessé that the leader of the defence, and author of his defeat, was not Lord Peterborough; that the real chief to be solicited was King Charles, Cifuentes, Lichtenstein, Uhlfeldt, Prince Henry, Leake, anybody rather than the commander-in-chief by land and sea of the Allies. To Marlborough likewise it did not appear that his eulogy might bear a wrong address

when he wrote to Peterborough from his camp ■ Aerzele ■ June 17th: "I congratulate your lordship ■ the great and glorious ■ of the ■ of her Majesty and her allies in obliging the enemy to raise the siege of Barcelona, and to retreat in such confusion and disorder ■ we ■ given to hope it has proved the ruin of the greatest part of their army. All the world does justice to your lordship in acknowledging the share you had in this happy success." There ■ nothing, the Duke said, which might not be expected from Peterborough "after such astonishing actions." The news excited the liveliest admiration ■ home for the general to whom the credit of the ■ ■ mainly ascribed. Since February frequent rumours of his exploits in Valencia had been received. It ■ said that he had beaten Tessé; it ■ said that Tessé had taken him prisoner and that he had escaped; las Torres and Tessé were said to have ■ bined their forces. At length it ■ clearly understood that Peterborough had circumvented all Philip's officers in Valencia, stealing Murviedro from Mahoni, surprising the reinforcements of los Arcos, intercepting the Alicante guns, and generally winning a kingdom for Charles. Justice ■ then done in the *London Gazette* to his feats. Already, in April, the Queen ■ preparing to express her gratitude by the present of ■ rich coach of ■ and £20,000. The arrival of Captain Delavall ■ May 30th with despatches describing the relief of Barcelona and retreat of the French, elicited ■ demonstrations of loyal satisfaction. When, ■ June 27th, a public thanksgiving was solemnised for the Duke of Marlborough's victory of Ramillies, "our great successes in Catalonia and other parts of Spain" ■ also ordered

to be commemorated. ■■■ Queen attended St. Paul's in state, and one of her chaplains, Dr. George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, preached. He mingled with allusions to the triumph in Brabant encomiums on the swift reduction first, and the seasonable relief afterwards, of Barcelona by the genius of Peterborough, whose activity, vigour, and noble fire peculiarly adapted him to such ■■■ undertaking. A gift of ten thousand ■■■■ of silver plate was added to the coach. On June 11th ■■■ was nominated Ambassador-Extraordinary to Charles, with £1500 for his equipage and £100 a week for his table. He valued the post, he told Stanhope, because its powers ■■■■ "calculated to reduce our German ministers to ■■■■ bounds." The too youthful father ■■■ less grateful when he heard a little later that, out of courtesy to him, his elder son, Lord Mordaunt, was conveying the Queen's compliments to the King of Spain upon the affairs of Flanders. "I own," he wrote, "I could have spared that favour."

## CHAPTER VII

### DIVIDED COUNCILS—PETERBOROUGH

AFTER a week of rejoicing and rest the plan of future operations was discussed. Methuen, while he still represented Queen Anne at the Court of Charles, had written to his father, the ambassador in Portugal, on May 26th, 1706, of the heavy and reciprocal complaints exchanged between the Court and Peterborough during the siege. The Court accused him, with some justice, of having left Barcelona in no adequate condition of defence. Not less justly he retorted with abuse of its mismanagement. The vague extent of his designs perplexed and disturbed it. Its thoughts were of Spain, and his of the whole Spanish monarchy. He hoped to settle Italy as well as Spain, and for the purpose wished the winter between Genoa and Leghorn. Methuen explained that he had quarrelled on round; with Cifuentes, and with Lichtenstein, whose intolerable haughtiness, unaccountable weakness, and rapacity Methuen also detested; with the King, by his conduct in keeping back money; with the Catalans, whose loyalty he decried as inferior to that of the Valencians; and with the British fleet, by his dispossession of Sir John Leake. Now, however, for a moment the strife stilled by

Tessé's retreat. ■■■ was content ■■ undertake one thing at a time and not ■■ things ■■■. A ■■■ conference of sixteen ministers and officers, held under the presidency of the King on May 18th, approved his proposal that the King should march to Madrid through Valencia, and that the general rendezvous should be at Valencia city. By that route the fleet could render essential help. Peterborough's belief was, that in the disorder caused by Philip's failure ■■ Barcelona the speedy presence of Charles ■■ the capital would bring ■■■ most of the kingdom. A moderate force in command of the passes towards Navarre would absolutely bar the re-entrance of Philip with his Frenchmen. Four thousand five hundred, or, as was a little later computed, six thousand foot and two thousand horse, besides irregulars and an artillery train, it was calculated, could be made ready, with the requisite transport service, to follow the King and Peterborough. Seven thousand one hundred British and Spanish troops would remain for the defence of Barcelona, Gerona, Lerida, and Tortosa, without count of the Miquelets.

Peterborough, Wyndham, and Richards started ■■ May 28th ■■ 29th by ■■■ for Valencia, and according to the *London Gazette* it ■■■ agreed that the King should follow ■■ June 6th. Peterborough proposed, with the ■■■ he had in hand, to strike a blow which he judged would encounter no resistance. But the Austrians procrastinated; according to Freind, Charles waited ■■ month beyond the stipulated date before he could resolve to start. The delay obliged Peterborough to provide for a methodical invasion of Castile. In Valencia he was so far master as to have been

able, without fear for its security, to leave it while the siege of Barcelona lasted. Las Torres, who lingered in a remote corner, was powerless to attack. A regular expedition for the escort of the King through a hostile country, which was beginning to panic from its first panic, could not be instantly extemporised. After three weeks of hard work deficiencies remained. On June 23rd Charles actually had marched, when, on the 26th, it is said he met on the Valencian frontier by a despatch from Peterborough asking him to wait awhile, the stores for the army's subsistence not yet entirely in order. The wants of the commissariat were supplied. Before this the military forces of the province had been organised for the occupation of the road thence to Madrid, and were fast accomplishing their task. Peterborough, always sensible of the importance of cavalry in Spain, had purchased some hundreds of serviceable horses for £10 a head, which if imported from England would have cost £60. On them he mounted foot-soldiers, whom in six weeks he drilled into a very fair semblance of a dragoon regiment. In half the time he had a movable column of fifteen hundred men ready. He sent it, under General Wyndham, into New Castile to capture Requena, thirty miles off, on the road to Madrid. Carleton, who, I know, acted as an engineer, says that he accompanied Wyndham in that capacity. Wyndham, as he advanced, took Cuenca, ninety miles from Madrid; Gorges marched against Alicante; Alnutt invaded Murcia; Killigrew with five regiments was kept by Peterborough at Valencia. All was in fair train for the King's progress by Valencia to join the Allies in Castile.

Peterborough wrote on June 23rd to Godolphin: "The two thousand horse and six thousand foot with which I march from Valencia into Castile make the case desperate" for Philip. He was able in July to report to Charles the success of the attempts on Requena and Cuenca, and the arrival of two thousand foot and horse at Alarcon. There on occasion, he assured him, to postpone his journey any longer. "The way is now free between us and Madrid that the deserters pass three or four in a company. Your Majesty may pass to your capital this way in a most profound peace, and with what expedition you think fit to make." He sent a deputation of Valencians to Barcelona to solicit the King's presence in their country; he argued in behalf of the route in letter after letter; he declaimed against the refusal to advance towards a crown, against the rejection of a course which would bring the King to Madrid in a few days in favour of a journey of six weeks or two months by way of Aragon, "and all the affairs of Europe in the meantime in suspense." It was deemed politic to arrange for a military demonstration on the side of Aragon, troops might, he said, be led by that route round to Madrid. The essential thing was that the King himself should travel by the shortest road. Earnestly he besought Charles to hasten: "Sir, it is only in your capital where the proper and necessary orders may be given." He spared no efforts or toil to attain his end: "I am dead," he exclaims, "for want of sleep. Drudgery and writing have brought a defluxion upon my eyes. Were it not for my resolution not to fret, I should die in this hot weather." He was tormented by mosquitoes; he was "out of his wits for

want of wherewithal to enable the troops to march." III requital ■■■ contemptuous neglect of the sole procedure by which he knew success was practicable.

For ■■■ time he ■■■ have felt that a positive change of plan at Court ■■■ the ■■■ of a delay of at least two months from the time it ■■■ possible, ■■ he wrote to Marlborough, to have commenced the march upon the capital by Valencia. The Valencia route had long been opposed by other counsellors, by Lichtenstein, Uhlfeldt, Cifuentes. They could adduce cogent arguments for their view, though not of the permanent force of those at Peterborough's disposal. Prince Henry had entered Aragon after the siege of Barcelona ■■■ raised, and had found the population inclined to the King's ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ showed the existence of ■■ advantageous opportunity. Noyelles led some regiments from Catalonia, and on June 13th he and Prince Henry united their strength. Together they occupied Saragossa, whose citizens had not forgiven the ■■■■■ of Tessa's troops in the winter and warmly invited Charles to make their city a stage ■■ his journey to Madrid. Cifuentes used ■■ eloquence to flatter their vanity with invidious comparisons between their voluntary acceptance of the King and the enforced submission of Valencia. They offered a liberal subsidy. The intelligence reached Charles at the time he had been on his way to Valencia city; and he changed his old resolution to direct his progress by that route. He was glad of an ■■■■ for slighting Peterborough, resenting profoundly the caprice, ■■ he regarded it, by which Peterborough had sent him back to Barcelona from the borders of Valencia. This decided him, it was said, to go by



Aragon, declaring that ■ would have nothing more to do with a man who had made him despicable to his people. ■ as indignant at the pertinacity with which Peterborough importuned him ■ adhere to the old project, and took ■ notice of several letters, till ■ length, in reply to that of July 5th, and to three similar appeals since June 30th, he wrote in a tone indicating royal disgust ■ the freedom of his adviser. Peterborough had offered to ■ to Barcelona to discuss with him the journey by Valencia; for ■ zeal the King expressed himself as very much obliged, but, being upon the road to Aragon, and engaged to pursue that way, he considered the journey Peterborough must make to Saragossa to meet him would be too long and difficult. The allied fleet being expected each moment on the coast, he bade him stay where he was to direct the important affair of the Duke of Savoy. This ■ the mode in which Peterborough ■ informed of the decision of the King, taken ■ a council ■ June 29th against the advice of the Portuguese and British envoys, d'Assumar and Stanhope, to proceed by Saragossa, and of the commencement of his progress thither. Down to this time, ■ within a few days of it, Peterborough had acted ■ the original arrangement ■ good, and ■ awaiting, or affecting to await, the arrival of the King ■ Valencia. That for the present ■ out of the question. He wrote on July 10th: "It is no more proper to speak to your Majesty upon the resolutions you have taken," though he went on to speak of them, and while promising ■ sustain what the King had resolved upon and to send a couple of regiments to Aragon, he could not refrain from adding they ■ so far advanced in Castile that

their march by Madrid would prove the shortest and most practicable way to ■ to Saragossa.

The change of plan ■ a cruel disappointment to him, and ■ irreparable injury to the ■ of the Allies ■ Spain. He ■ the whole evil of it present and future. On August 1st he wrote to Stanhope: "The consequences of the most fatal resolution taken by the King appear every day more and more, and I ■ hardly persuade myself that ■ in their common ■ could ■ into such ■. In my opinion, from being absolutely secure of the kingdom their affairs ■ never in ■ circumstances; and ■ most scandalous and unexpected revolution may happen." Unless in respect of temper and manner, throughout the whole controversy he seems to have been in the right. It was unfortunate that he put himself in the wrong by his neglect of the occasion for acting in Castile in ■ with Galway since Charles refused to ■ the opportunity of acting in concert there with him. By June 27th the Allies under Galway and das Minas had occupied Madrid, where the addition of the army of Valencia would have been of the greatest benefit to them. Their apologists alleged that he turned a deaf ■ to repeated requests for his aid; but he always asserted that he received no solicitations and no intelligence. Two expresses from Galway, he stated in the ■ of the subsequent inquiry in England, had traversed Valencia without any communication for him; ■ ■ senger he had compelled ■ July 6th to sign ■ ■ andum that he passed through the city of Valencia on a certain day without any letter for the Earl of Peterborough. Galway admitted the account ■ be true of ■ messenger, ■ not of two. He explained that the officer had been

ordered to go by Saragossa, but, the road being barred by the enemy, had travelled by Valencia. Other officers, he declared, he had sent straight to Peterborough to ask for assistance, and they delivered their despatches. Peterborough in any case must have been of movements of the Allies in Castile, and have understood importance of a junction of his forces with theirs. He ought to have held aloof a point etiquette. The defence which might be of avail in respect of certain period, that he had his strength as an escort for the King, will scarcely the critical time from the commencement of July. Probably the most real for him is that, in common with the Allies in general, he not fully conscious before August of the precariousness of the advantage they had gained from the French discomfiture at Barcelona. The English Government assumed Charles as far triumphant in Spain to be able to spare Peterborough's forces for the maintenance of the war elsewhere. Instructions, dated June 12th and 19th, were sent to him and Leake to despatch the fleet with three or four regiments on board to the relief of the Duke of Savoy, who being besieged in Turin, after which service the forces to go to Naples. Peterborough, if it could be arranged, though the Queen left the decision to his discretion, to lead the troops, on account, Secretary Hedges told him, of the Duke of Savoy's faith in his great courage and conduct and the accompanying person, whereby he had more than once restored affairs when under intricate difficulties. Charles's acceptance of scheme, besides that it enabled him intimate his independence of Peterborough's assist-

ance in Spain, implied a sincere belief that there was virtually an end. Assuming with haughty confidence the entire devotion of Aragon, and the absolute security of the road thence to Madrid, he directed Peterborough to prepare for an expedition either to North Italy or to the Balearic Isles. Peterborough himself had formed plans which, if more ingeniously adapted for distracting the attention of the enemy, must equally have diminished the force for attacking the main body. The instructions he brought from England in 1705 contemplated an attempt upon Cadiz to follow that upon Barcelona, and he proposed to proceed with that article in the programme. In a letter of June 20th to Stanhope he suggested a descent by sea upon Cadiz with a thousand men: "Perhaps no paradox to say Calais taken better for England, and the war of Spain not wholly ended, than even the King at Madrid." He was well disposed also towards the ministerial scheme of an Italian expedition, which he, in conformity with Godolphin's views, had long cherished. Stanhope on June 21st how much it would add to the romance of their undertaking if within the year he could settle in a manner the affairs of Spain and Italy. Obviously by him for some time, as longer by Charles and Lichtenstein, Godolphin and Marlborough, the magnitude of the peril with which the Allies was confronted was underrated, though not after the early part of July. Then he was as mistaken as the rest in imagining that the British devised and executed policy could have set the Spanish suddenly and solidly at the head of Charles. But at least the measures proposed alone offered a prospect of eventual

From the instant of their repudiation the course continually downwards.

Tidings suddenly reached Valencia of a rising of the population of New Castile against the Portuguese and Galway. Then at last Peterborough determined to march for their help. A council of war, to which he summoned both Valencian dignitaries and his own officers on July 26th, supported his resolution, and further expressed his opinion that, at this late hour, the King should be advised to return from Aragon and accept Peterborough's escort to Madrid from Valencia. The troops were about to start when the royal orders arrived for the expedition to foreign parts. In the circumstances they would not have hindered the march, but a despatch of a very different character followed close on their heels. The Austrian Court too had heard the news from Castile. Charles, who on July 24th had quitted Saragossa, prayed Peterborough to hurry forward with every available force. He interpreted this as a direction to bring to the King's assistance any troops which could travel fast. Taking four hundred dragoons he came up with him near Pastrana on August 4th, and two days later escorted him to the camp of the Allies at Guadalajara.

He found them discontented and disheartened. Their numbers were variously estimated at fifteen to eighteen thousand. The King and Peterborough added little to the numerical strength, bringing with them, according to Galway, only two regiments of Spanish dragoons and part of Pierce's dragoon regiment. Galway alleged that Peterborough left behind in different places two entire dragoon regiments, with the rest of Pierce's, and

thirteen battalions of English infantry. On the opposite side the Duke of Berwick commanded an army swollen to a total of twenty-five thousand. Las Torres had brought his fifteen hundred men in June from the frontiers of Valencia, and the King's delay, of which Galway and Peterborough equally complained though they accounted for it dissimilarly, permitted Berwick's junction in July with these troops and with a French force under Léal from Navarre. The citizens of the principal towns befriended him. Spaniards did not love Philip's Frenchmen, but they abhorred, especially in Castile, the domination of the troops of their Portuguese cousins and neighbours. Bands of armed peasants plundered adherents of King Charles, and slaughtered stragglers; worst of all, the councils of Charles were agitated by internal jealousies. Four officers now in the camp at Guadalajara could each show a title of his own to command in chief, and all were less mutually jealous and contemptuous. As Stanhope gloomily wrote to the Secretary of State a few months later, so at present, it was clear that the army would do no great matters while it had so many generals little disposed to agree. The aged Marquis of Minas, the Portuguese general, had been allowed to appear to command the united British and Portuguese army in deference to Portuguese pride. Galway, whom the King of Portugal had created Governor of the Army, had precedence in military experience, and the terms of his commission were wide enough to comprise a campaign anywhere in Spain. On Field-Marshal Noyelles, besides the Dutch commission, Charles had conferred the command of the Spanish troops. Peterborough held the

Queen's commission as commander-in-chief by land and of independent Catalonia expedition; a distinct Spanish commission also had been granted to him by Charles after the capture of Barcelona. Galway, crippled with wounds, desired to be recalled, and was ready to waive any rights he possessed. Upon Peterborough's arrival he paid him a visit, and in his words "offered him the command of the English, and to receive his orders till I should have the Queen's leave to go home." He added in his defence before the House of Lords: "But because the Marquis das Minas would not do so too my Lord Peterborough chose not to stay with the army." Peterborough's account differed in some particulars; he intimated that he should have been satisfied with equality. By a letter of August 8th he suggested that das Minas should lead the troops on the Portuguese establishment, and Noyelles the Dutchmen, while the Spaniards, and the British troops belonging to the Catalonia expedition, should be under him. The King would be general-in-chief. That arrangement, which, it must be admitted, is open to the gravest objections, was carried into effect after he was sent by das Minas, Galway, and Noyelles. For his part he was, he asseverated, willing to serve as a simple volunteer. His real anxiety, he professed, was that the Allies, under whatever commander or commanders, should adopt a definite policy for the campaign, and wait upon the enemy without hazarding a battle in the open field.

When he understood neither the post of commander-in-chief nor any independent command available for him in Castile, and that his colleagues were not favourable to his views of strategy, he decided to

withdraw. He had for some time past been of opinion there "generals enough, and that he might well be spared to return to his cabin." Lord Stanhope supposes ■■ signified his intention in ■■ confident belief that he would not be allowed to accomplish it; he must in any case have been much disappointed at the eagerness with which his departure ■■ sanctioned. It produced ■ general ■■ of relief. He had raised up enemies on all sides by ■■ dogmatism, the refusal of his confidence, and the fluency of his biting pen and tongue. King Charles seldom ■■ affection. Galway, who ■■ not hypercritical, said of him, with Marlborough's approval, that nobody who did his duty could please him. It ■■ not to be expected that Peterborough would catch his fancy, while for the English general he was an example of ingratitude, villainies, and foolish ill-breeding. The correspondence between Peterborough and Stanhope reveals ■■ intensity of anger against him which the former ■■ certain not to labour to hide. Charles of Austria ■■ to him at the best but ■ convenient instrument of British policy, and less convenient, probably, than the Duke of Savoy might have been. Too evidently he felt no personal loyalty for him. He undervalued his bravery and ■■ of duty, and had no indulgence for his pride and prejudices. Charles's minister at the Court of St. James, the Count of Gallas, ■■ instructed to offer ■ solemn remonstrance on ■■ occasion; ■■ another, Mr. Walpole, Stanhope's secretary, presented to Queen Anne ■ vigorous letter of complaint against him from the King. The latter grievance ■■ of ■■ standing, of earlier origin even than the French siege of Barcelona, where ■■ have seen how Methuen speaks of ■■ ill-will he had excited.



Charles outraged by Peterborough's criticisms, the ministers of Charles, against whom they had always been poured in a torrent, he was sure to be more odious. He perceived that Lichtenstein, Uhlfeldt, and the rest were stolid, dogged, and tortionate. So they were, and Godolphin thought the of them; but Peterborough took positive pleasure in publishing his thoughts abroad. When men in authority disagreeable persons, ill-bred, selfish, arrogant, stupid, he said out loud that they were. Others, who only thought it, grudged him the pleasure of his candour. He was an indefatigable correspondent, and his very frank letters to friends at home were too sparkling to be kept for private consumption. Thus, Walsh wrote to Pope in September, 1706, that Lord Wharton had been showing him a letter from a certain great general in Spain. Walsh's account of it, half jesting and half serious, that he would have that general recalled, it impossible a man with so much wit could be fit to command an army or do any other business. Peterborough never dissembled that he found nothing to admire in Galway's strategy, that he regarded his delay in the occupation of Madrid as a proof of incapacity. Notoriously he despised *das Minas*. Even the intimacy with Stanhope no longer what it had been; Methuen predicted a short time before, Stanhope was becoming uneasy under the impossible task of steering between his friend and the Court so as not to disoblige both.

The antipathy he had aroused among his fellow-workers in Spain marred his usefulness. It would not necessarily have been fatal to his position if he had retained the

confidence of his ~~own~~ Government; its loss rendered him impossible. The English ministers were equally tired of his invectives against the Austrians and of theirs against him. Marlborough, who virtually ~~was~~ minister ~~of the~~ as well ~~as~~ commander-in-chief, wrote to Godolphin ~~on~~ June 13th of the plan for ~~an~~ expedition from Spain to raise the siege of Turin, in a tone implying a full understanding of the strained relations between him and them. "The Duke of Savoy has desired ~~that~~ Lord Peterborough may go with the ~~expedition~~. The King of Spain, I suppose, will not be sorry to part with him, ~~and~~ his lordship will be naturally willing enough to go, if he does not suspect that it will make the King of Spain easy." Godolphin, it has been supposed, continued to be dissatisfied with Peterborough's postponement of the Savoy expedition to the invasion of Catalonia. He was the angrier at the trouble caused by the strifes with Charles and Charles's Germans that Peterborough had weakly thrown aside his policy in deference to the wishes of these, on his ~~own~~ showing, despicable persons. At any ~~rate~~ by July his ~~own~~ well ~~as~~ Marlborough's impatience of the petulance ~~on~~ both sides ~~had~~ become explosive. He wrote ~~on~~ July 18th: "A letter from my Lord Peterborough of a very old date from Barcelona ~~is~~ full of extraordinary flights and artificial turns. But ~~it~~ may ~~be~~ by it that there ~~is~~ room for anything that has been thought or said of his conduct there; and at the same time, by that and other letters of ~~his~~ credit, nothing ~~is~~ ~~so~~ weak, so shameful, and so unaccountable in every point as the conduct of ~~the~~ Prince de Lichtenstein and the ~~conduct~~ of the King ~~and~~ Spain's German followers." Marlborough answered from Helchin on August 16th in

language which, like Godolphin's, condemned the Austrian councillors well, but indicated extreme dissatisfaction with Peterborough. "I agree with you that the German that with King Charles good for nothing; but I believe the anger and aversion he has for Lord Peterborough is the greatest for taking the resolution of going to Saragossa, which I am afraid will prove fatal; for Mr. Crowe tells me he said him that would not accept of health from Lord Peterborough. I suppose this expression better in Spanish than in English"—meaning thereby an Englishman would have borrowed a positive phrase from the Athanasian creed. It has been plausibly surmised that Richards, whose diary shows that he became estranged from Peterborough, was the agent in turning Marlborough and Godolphin against him. He quitted Spain July 13th, and on his way visited Marlborough Helchin. Towards the end of August he in England, and had interviews with Godolphin. It may easily be believed that he fomented the prejudices of both, but the dates of their correspondence prove how firmly rooted already the sentiment. Both had for months past been of the opinion expressed by Godolphin on August 24th: "Lord Peterborough is both useless and grievous there, and is preparing to be troublesome here whenever he is called home." The month Marlborough, in the frankness of his correspondence with his duchess, ejaculates: "Lord Peterborough should not be consulted. I do not think much ceremony ought to be used in removing him from a place where he has hazarded the loss of the whole country."

Yet almost simultaneously the Queen, acting, it may

he presumed, ■ the instance of her minister, had publicly commended Peterborough. Lord Barrymore had accused Peterborough ■ her of having ruined ■ foot regiment by taking away its best officers for ■ new cavalry. ■ replied that she had every reason to believe everything Lord Peterborough did ■ well done, and she would change nothing. Marlborough himself had in June been warmly complimenting Peterborough, and with apparent sincerity. For a long time ■ relations and those of his wife with Peterborough and his wife had been demonstratively friendly. Luttrell notes that ■ December 20th, 1706, the countess "treated the Duke of Marlborough and several general officers." She frequently asked, and he commonly ■ ready to grant, favours in the way of military patronage, and Peterborough's letters to the duchess continued to breathe entire faith in her goodwill. ■ sent her ■ enthusiastic message in June upon the tidings of the battle of Ramillies, "which has cleared our way to Madrid," and she reciprocated his panegyric upon the duke's victories by "owning the ■ in Spain to be the occasion of my lord duke's good fortune." Playfully he put in a plea for the gardener's place ■ Blenheim, ■ ■ should have the luck to return to England. He dilated to her ■ ■ troubles from German folly, and from the everlasting struggle of the King's ministers against the interest of their master. The tone of her replies was constantly sympathetic; and meanwhile she and ■ ■ admiring colleagues ■ plotting hard ■ ruin him without risk to themselves.

A council of ministers and generals met in the camp on August 9th, and unanimously approved Peterborough's

withdrawal from Spain for a season. The motives publicly assigned the conveyance of aid to the Duke of Savoy and attack in the course of return upon Minorca. instructions from England seemed to justify a visit to Italy for the former purpose; the latter enterprise he had been requested to undertake by the King before he left Valencia. But additional, and in the King's judgment a more urgent object for his journey recommended less ostentatiously. Charles hoped that he might be able to raise a loan of £100,000 at Genoa the credit of the royal domains in Spain, backed by Minas representing Portugal and by the presumed authorisation of the English Treasury. The Austro-Spanish Court constantly embarrassed for money, and the financial relations between it and Peterborough throughout were exceedingly complicated. Queen Anne's Government, with the main financial responsibility upon it of a great war raging at once in the Low Countries, Spain, and Italy, could not satisfy the manifold calls upon its funds. Marlborough, being dictator at Whitehall, insisted upon being served first; Spain received only dribblets, and of them the army of Portugal and Castile doubtless absorbed most. Such part reached the eastern provinces to have usually to Peterborough, who looked upon it primarily intended for the subsistence of his Englishmen. He resented, he told Godolphin, the expectation of the Court that the British Treasury to fortify and provision every place, and to buy the King's meat and clothes. He that a matter of charity, not of obligation, for him to keep the King of Spain's Germans and Spaniards from starving,

as he assured Stanhope ■ the ■ time they must, ■ he should not find ways ■ support them ■ the hazard of his own fortune. When money reached him, from whatever source, he treated it as at his discretionary disposal, and to the indignation of Charles and his Court would not recognise their independent right to ■ share. He kept ■ accurate accounts, for which he afterwards suffered. Private funds belonging to himself he declared he spent ■ enable the troops to march, and wrote to Stanhope that he had ■ out £10,000 of his own money since he ■ to Valencia. Anything he forwarded to the Court he had a habit of regarding ■ a gift whatever its original source. In his letter of July 10th to Charles he said: "I see how much your Majesty is in want of money. I have some little ■ from England, and will send it immediately to Saragossa." He had referred to this remittance, five thousand pistoles, in a letter to Stanhope as "a good sum of my own, of which the King and his troops shall have every farthing, that I may ■ if anything can touch ■ German heart." Whether the money ■ this occasion ■ his own ■ ■ subsidy from the Treasury can scarcely be ascertained from the language he uses; in either ■ he would have considered his bestowal of it upon the King ■ ■ act of personal bounty. There may be ground for ■ charge that he grudged the diversion to objects outside his immediate command of the meagre ■ supplied to him from home. The accusations, however, brought against him in England that he intercepted for illegitimate purposes £103,000 which had been sent for the payment of the troops, and ■ Barcelona by Methuen, who judged him suspiciously, that he pretended a want

■ money, parted with little, and wrote continually for more, while he was "known to have a great deal," rest on no adequate foundation. Now ■ any rate he was ready to play the part of ■ financial Providence ■ behalf of the Austrians.

He left Guadalajara the day after the council with an escort of eighty Royal Dragoons. When he reached Huete he heard of a calamity which had befallen him the day before at that place. He had not known how brief would be his stay in New Castile, and his baggage, with a supply of provisions, was following him from Valencia, a train of sixteen wagons and forty-two mules guarded by forty horse, a hundred and fifty foot, and two guns. A colonel of Philip's, pretending to be on Charles's side, took the troop unawares, and captured property of Peterborough's worth eight to ten thousand pistoles, or £100 as he reckoned it to Stanhope. His remaining wardrobe consisted of one suit of clothes and six shirts, but his chief regret was for his barbs and his cheese. Galway and Stanhope shared his misfortune, for eight of the wagons contained eatables and drink for them, which "good management" had lost. In a panic the citizens of Huete offered him compensation. After his magnificent fashion he accepted it in the form of enough corn for the army for six weeks, which he made them forward to the camp of the Allies. On his journey he met as usual with adventures. The legends of them, embodied and embellished in, not invented for, Carleton's Memoirs, anybody is free to believe or disbelieve at pleasure. A lady lodging for his sake of safety in a convent at Huete, who was enamoured of his fame and who knew him, wished to

see him. As the abbess interposed difficulties he had to threaten ■■■ expropriation of ■■■ nunnery as the site of ■ fort, which Carleton says he ■■■ directed to build or plan, and only the united prayers of the Superior and her fair pensioner could move him from his purpose. The road from Valencia ■■■ ■ longer safe. A party of convalescent English soldiers had, ■ the morning of Peterborough's arrival, been murdered by the Campilio villagers, and in the church clothes were recognised which had belonged to the victims. On the evidence he hanged the sacristan to his own knocker, and then galloped to ■ hole on the hillside down which he heard the bodies had been flung, in time to rescue ■■ wounded soldier who had clung to the side of the rock. On his arrival two days after ■ Valencia he rejoiced to find ■■ documents, which had been captured with his baggage. He had been soliciting Stanhope's diplomatic intervention for the recovery of Lieutenant Ronan, his aide-de-camp, and his papers from the Duke of Berwick, which could, he said, be of no further use to the Duke when read. But Berwick chivalrously returned them unopened. They ■■■ hereafter to prove very useful. He received also despatches from home, couched in ■ very different tone from Godolphin's and Marlborough's private correspondence. In excellent spirits he wrote to Stanhope: "As to my own affairs, they cannot be in better circumstances. The city made a public compliment ■ my behalf, in conjunction with my Lord Marlborough; and my Lord Godolphin sends ■ word that my commission for Vice-Admiral of England is passed, but they do not send ■ ■ for fear of tempting ■ from ■ land service, where, he ■



pleased ■ say, they think me so necessary. I had been undone if ■ ■ more success and my Lord Marlborough less." His Valencians too continued to applaud and love him, though in disgrace with ■ King. ■ popular ■ ■ that, at his personal request, assisted by ■ salve of fresh dowers which he generously bestowed ■ the convent, the ecclesiastical authorities condoned the temporary elopement of two ■ ■ with ■ couple of his officers. The erring vestal ■ ■ excused the normal starvation to death inside a stone wall, while the seducers had already secured their ■ ■ safety by flight.

■ ■ stay at Valencia ■ ■ broken by ■ ■ excursion to Alicante towards the end of August. In July he had sent Gorges against it with thirteen hundred foot and two hundred horse, while Leake ■ ■ to support the attack from the sea. By August ■ ■ the town ■ ■ in the hands of the Allies. The sailors having already entered, the citizens ■ ■ alleged to have opened the gates to Gorges that he might protect them from maltreatment. He was accused of having inveigled them into depositing in the great church their most precious goods, which he then sold by auction for the benefit of his troops. Peterborough arrived on the ■ ■ a little later, while the governor Mahoni ■ ■ ■ being besieged in the castle, and ■ ■ hearing the townsmen's complaint indignantly denounced the treachery of which they had been victims. ■ ■ had brought ■ ■ similar indictment, in a letter of July 20th to Stanhope, against the admirals of having plundered Cartagena "that admitted them with all imaginable civility and gallantry," ■ ■ proceeding, he affirmed, ■ ■ new ■ ■ scandalous. On September ■ ■ Mahoni capitulated, ■ ■ fortunate

subsequently Richards the diarist, who was blown up in the citadel when governor, but before the surrender of the citadel Peterborough gone from Spain. He had been preparing for an expedition against the Balearic Isles when orders came for the departure of a large squadron to the West Indies, and the remainder of the fleet he thought inadequate for the attempt. In vain he endeavoured to persuade the admirals to pay heed to the instructions; in vain he sent a ship home with the utmost and most pressing arguments for stopping the West India squadron. The ministers obdurate, and the officers, though they all allowed "the orders were improper, and might prove fatal in our present circumstances." They had not, and not to be censured for not having, either the will or the courage to disobey them. He told Stanhope that the admirals jealous of him and of his commission to command them; and a letter from him on August 25th, praying Leake not to resign though he had been appointed to the joint command of the fleet, points to the conclusion. He and his colleagues at cross purposes to such an extent that undertakings which seemed to, or made for, him impracticable with the available became practicable when he was removed. Thus, on September 13th Leake despatched the squadron of nine ships to the West Indies which had occasioned Peterborough's refusal to conduct the Balearic expedition. The same day he sailed for Iviza, which tendered submission, and a popular rising forced the governor of Majorca to capitulate at Palma September 28th. Leake thus the glory of a conquest which, but for defects of temper, Peterborough might

as happily have accomplished. His admirers have reasonable ground for their allegations that Leake showed throughout the naval campaign of 1706 either indecision, incapacity, or sulkiness: they can contend that by his tardiness he nearly risked the loss of Barcelona; but Peterborough by other [redacted] surrendered opportunities he ought to have seized, and allowed spiteful [redacted] to represent Leake as the true hero of the [redacted] in eastern Spain.

The Balearic Isles being cut out of the programme, Peterborough reverted to the original arrangement which directed his steps first to North Italy; but it [redacted] necessary to provide for the welfare of Valencia and of the force he had consolidated for its defence. For this purpose he convoked a council of his fourteen senior officers [redacted] Alicante on September 6th. Galway and Charles, grievously pressed by Berwick, would have liked to denude Alicante of its garrison of nine hundred men. From England, as well [redacted] by the King's advisers, it had been suggested that the army of Valencia might supply aid also for the Duke of Savoy. The council, under Peterborough's guidance, resolved that, for the sake both of the safety of the whole coast from Alicante to Tortosa, and of the communications between the army in Castile and the sea, the military strength of Valencia must be in no way weakened. Further, the council added its approval of the general's temporary absence in Italy, hoping, like the council [redacted] Guadalajara, that he would bring back some money for the replenishment [redacted] [redacted] military chest. The troops in Valencia had received [redacted] pay for months, and in their destitution they could not be restrained from

plundering the peasantry, to odium of the Austrian

Thus fortified with official consents, and having secured the interests immediately in his charge, he able, seemed, with a good conscience to take a short holiday. His restless nature, which was capable of of vehement labour, demanded intervals of idleness. He knew and asserted that in Spain he was for the present superfluous. He cannot but have suspected that he was absolutely detrimental. He might well believe that his merits would become visible at a distance. He was sick of a country where the only tolerable thing, he wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough from the board the "Resolution" on September 4th, was her sex; and perhaps he may have been a little sick of that also. He had, moreover, much to discuss with the Duke of Savoy. One notable project he had conceived or reconstructed for a combined invasion of France from Spain and from Piedmont, with the assistance of a covering British fleet. The authorship of the idea, which Godolphin approved, has been disputed. Peterborough assumed it, though touches, he admitted, subsequently added by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene. Galway in the House of Lords, in 1711, ascribed to Marlborough and the Duke of Savoy's ministers, the Count of Briançon and Count Maffey, a similar plan for an attack upon Toulon by troops from Savoy and a fleet from England. Marlborough on the occasion appeared to claim the merit of the scheme. He described it as one of the most effectual to the war, though he denied the Duke of Savoy authorised or desired Peterborough to arrange for the disabling the army

in Spain for active operations there by the detachment of five thousand men on the side of Roussillon. Whatever the exact final shape of the project, which Alexander Cunningham, the historian and diplomatist, says he himself heard Sir Isaac Newton discuss and recommend so early as in 1705, Peterborough identified himself with it generally. Now and the next year he went to Italy with the intent to organise its execution.

He sailed in the "Resolution." It was the flagship of his second son Henry, about twenty-five, a gallant sailor, and silent member for Malmesbury, who was acting commodore of a squadron of frigates. In conformity with the decision of the council of war he took no troops from Valencia. Reports, which, it appeared, were premature, of a signal victory of the Duke of Savoy in a sally from Turin, had saved him the trouble of trying to collect them from Catalonia or elsewhere. The news story had reached England from Alicante, and added to the perplexity among the Queen's ministers as to the true motive of Peterborough's journey. Godolphin wrote to Marlborough that the victory had meant nothing apparently for Peterborough to do, unless to enlist a few German troopers. He must have gone, therefore, for some deeper purpose. Godolphin said he had instructed the British Resident at Turin to ascertain the subject of the Earl's conferences with the Duke. A voyage of twenty days brought him to Genoa. There he learnt that the rumours had been corroborated by events. The French had been obliged to raise the siege of Turin, and the Piedmontese were in a mood for striking a return blow. Though destitute of any credentials for the purpose, with his habitual and

splendid audacity he consulted with the Duke ■ Turin, and with Prince Eugene at Pavia, ■ the grand joint expedition against Toulon. So excellent a judge as the Prince ■ struck by ■ military sagacity. ■ borrowed the £100,000 at Genoa, obtaining the ■ modulation for £1000 above the current ■ of exchange. To effect the loan, again without leave, he engaged the credit of the British Treasury as well ■ that of Charles, the Portuguese Government, and his ■. In 1711 he complained ■ the House of Lords that he had been held personally liable. The British Government protested the bills drawn by him in favour of ■ merchant who had £1400 of his, and the merchant, he ■ asserted, had insisted upon a right to detain the money. For the moment he ■ disturbed by ■ fears ■ that account. He had done the work for which he came, and he intermingled with his labours ■ fair measure of enjoyment. After a sojourn made up, he boasted to Stanhope, of happy days, he determined ■ return to Spain. He ■ back with the money and his Toulon scheme ■ December 27th ■ Barcelona. If St. Simon were well informed, as probably he ■ not, he brought besides the Genoese loan a hundred and fifty thousand pistoles, part of the contributions extorted by Eugene from the Milanese.

From Barcelona he made his way to Valencia by January 10th, 1707. Being incommoded in his foot he was obliged, he said, and doubtless ■ freely quoted as having ■ it, to travel the pace of ■ Spaniard, of one, he explained, that ■ not going to rob ■ was flying from an enemy. While he was in Italy he had heard of a series ■ casualties which ■ brought the Court and

army from Castile. The Allies in three divisions, independently led by das Minas, Galway, and Noyelles, had moved from Guadalajara on August 11th, the day after Peterborough left them, to Chinchon. In that position, which was more directly on the route to Valencia, they lingered in September. Finding themselves far outnumbered by Berwick, who had twenty-six thousand men, on the 9th of that month they began their retreat towards the sea, and followed closely by the French marshal reached the province of Valencia on the 28th. Their total by that time was twelve thousand. Stanhope wrote to Peterborough on October 12th that things were going "from bad to worse," and a few days later Noyelles followed in the same strain, lamenting the want of "good conduct." Nothing remained to the Allies in Castile but Ouenca and Requena, and they were shortly captured. Murcia was recovered by Berwick, who compelled Cartagena to capitulate. Peterborough, then on his way to the King, satirically expressed his surprise that things had not progressed "*de mieux en mieux*," when as disagreeable and useless a person as he was out of the way.

He found himself very welcome and may be certain he considered he deserved to be. Noyelles, Zinzerling, Stanhope, and the King had, it appears from his statements, written to hasten his return. During his absence they had discovered they were an unpleasant company for each other as he had been for them. Galway, in addition to his weariness and wounds, had been vexed by the superior influence of Noyelles with the King. He was more anxious than ever to be relieved, and he regarded Peterborough as destined to relieve him. Stanhope wrote on October 24th to Godolphin that Galway

been fully resolved to resign in favour of Peterborough when Peterborough should have come back from Italy. Godolphin in November repeated to Marlborough with much expressed amazement the intelligence that Galway had recommended him as "the properest person to succeed him in the care of the whole." Though Queen Anne's ministers, to be anticipated, did not accept the suggestion, he continued to exert much weight in Charles's councils of . . . . . At two in particular, held . . . . . January 15th and February 4th, 1707, he took a part which subsequent events rendered historical. Already, if his memory is to be trusted against Galway's forgetfulness of the request . . . . . years afterwards, he had urged Galway to send five thousand men into Catalonia. They . . . . . to make a diversion thence on the Roussillon frontier, in concert with the Duke of Savoy's contemplated attack . . . . . Toulon. Now, in the council of January 15th, he explained in a written speech the policy of which that formed part. His view . . . . . that the . . . . . should be offensive . . . . . the side of Italy. In Spain defensive operations alone were, he argued, advisable. Aragon, . . . . . it had proved, could defend itself. Valencia and Catalonia . . . . . safe, . . . . . long as the allied army . . . . . kept within their borders, and while a British fleet . . . . . at hand to guard the coast and convey supplies. A march to Madrid promised little advantage and threatened terrible dangers. Means of subsistence in Castile . . . . . scanty. The enemy, with his clear superiority in cavalry, would continually harass the Allies . . . . . they took the direct Valencia route. By way of Murcia they would have to cross the Tagus without pontoons and surmount . . . . . They might be forced



■ fight ■ the plain of Aranjuez, where Berwick's horsemen would beat upon them with a shock against which their feeble artillery train ■ incapable of protecting them. The possession of Madrid without a victory was, as had been found ■ year before, of small benefit. A defeat would lose them Catalonia, which the French in Roussillon ■ preparing to invade vigorously. Later on, and after reflection, he sketched ■ alternative programme to suit statesmanship determined ■ all events upon a forward movement. He explained it in ■ letter of April 21st, written from Turin, four days before the battle of Almanza, to his trusted friend d'Assumar, the Portuguese minister with King Charles. His plan, he said, ■ to defend the entrance into Valencia with two thousand horse and eight thousand foot. With eleven thousand foot and five thousand horse he would have reached the head of the Tagus by a stolen march. It might with alertness have been possible to put the Tagus between the Allies and the enemy, and ■ have hindered the junction of the reinforcements ■ their way from France. The result would have been to cut off Madrid from relief, and Philip must have fled a second time ■ Burgos. But in this letter of April, as in the winter, he showed himself wholly convinced of the madness ■ staking the ■ of Spain upon the chance of ■ gain ■ ambiguous ■ the possession of Madrid, and upon the contingency of victory in ■ unequal battle.

He argued to ■ purpose, though for ■ of their or m Charles, Noyelles, and Lichtenstein were against a second invasion of Castile. In March the King with his Court and Noyelles went to Barcelona. Galway's ■

Stanhope's partisans declared that Charles broke up the army to ■ permanent injury by taking five thousand troops with him. Peterborough said he withdrew no more than about two hundred miserable Spanish dragoons. In any case Stanhope, who diplomatically represented the British Government, and Galway, acting ■ instructions from home, ■■ resolute to attempt Madrid once more, whether with or without the King. Peterborough's own account hereafter ■■ that the judgment of the King, of his generals, of his ministers, and of himself, with which the Duke of Savoy's and Prince Eugene's advice to Charles agreed, ■■ overruled at the councils of ■■ by one man. That ■■ "the Queen's minister, who gave her positive orders to march to Madrid, and not divide the forces." Stanhope's letter of January 15th to Hedges, written after the conference, is to the same general effect. He excused himself for having protested in her Majesty's name against a defensive war "in presence of my Lord Peterborough, who has characters from her Majesty ■ much superior to mine, and from whom it was my fortune to differ in opinion ■■ this occasion." He appended ■ significant intimation of ■ doubt whether Peterborough's policy might not after all be right. He was not certain but that some infantry might not advantageously be spared from the allied army if the Duke of Savoy and the Emperor ■■ really meaning to make ■ expedition by land against Toulon, and if the British fleet were instructed to assist. Such ■ detachment of force from the main body for the support ■ Peterborough's offensive Italian strategy must, in the attenuated ■■ of Galway's army, have implied the ■■ tinuance of the defensive tactics in Valencia for which

he pleaded. Public opinion in England was, however, impatient ■ the postponement of any decisive return for the expenditure in Spain. Marlborough is supposed to have approved, if he did not dictate, a plan of campaign which would have been admirable if he, and not Galway, could have been employed to carry it out. The result ■ the advance of Galway into Murcia on April 10th, and the bloody defeat on April 25th ■ Almanza. Peterborough's gloomiest auguries turned out true, and the wisdom of ■ counsels fully justified. His bitter comment ■ the catastrophe ■ aimed first at his former friend Stanhope. Writing on July 22nd to Marlborough, whom he did not or affected not to suspect of having had any part in recommending the policy, he exclaims: "Mr. Stanhope's politics have proved very fatal, having produced our misfortunes and prevented the greatest successes."

Peterborough's disputes with Charles and his German councillors originally impelled his own Government ■ ■ him. Their recent favour for him had the ■ effect. Freind quotes a saying of his which may readily be credited, that he ■ met with the least difficulty from the King when he himself ■ present with his Majesty. Misunderstandings abounded when they were apart. His personal influence could at Valencia be exercised directly, and ■ for the time predominant. The impression was so far lasting as to relieve the London ■ in the course of the spring that the King had appointed him general of all his forces in Catalonia and Valencia from the air of ■ paradox it ■ to those who recollect only the ebullitions of royal anger against him. ■ Godolphin ■ Marl-

borough ■■■ not to be conciliated by a restoration of amiability which proceeded from Peterborough's advocacy of views ■■ vexatious to the Queen's ministers ■■ they were pleasing to the Austrian Court. ■■■ attitude at the councils of January and February ■■■ distasteful both to Marlborough and to Godolphin. For Godolphin the last straw would be the presentation at Whitehall of the Genoa ■■■ for £100,000. It may have been hoped, perhaps, that he would tire of his equivocal position and deprive himself by a voluntary resignation of the vantage-ground of the grievance of an abrupt recall. As he stayed on, he received ■■ February 22nd ■■ despatch discharging him from his official duties as Admiral, General, and High Commissioner with the King. Simultaneously arrived another ■■ nouncing the appointment of Galway as Commander-in-Chief of all the British forces in Spain. Peterborough would not take the broadest hints. He kept his place ■■ the King's Court, and his authority with the Valencian population, until a missive came from England on March 14th formally summoning him home.

## CHAPTER VIII

### WAS HE AN IMPOSTOR?

IN the narrative here given of the campaigns of Catalonia and Valencia, Peterborough, in other biographies of him, occupies the foreground. His heroic figure, in the character now of Achilles, now of Ulysses, now of Alcibiades, overshadows besides. Whenever he appears everybody else is obscured. He holds aloof or is disregarded, and there is universal failure. He intervenes, and all is prosperity. The name of Galway shrinks, writes Lord Stanhope, into utter insignificance when compared with his. In Lord Stanhope's eyes he had a talent for partisan warfare which has very seldom been equalled, and hardly ever exceeded. Lord Stanhope accounts him courageous to the verge of rashness, generous to the verge of profusion, and endowed with extraordinary military genius and a surprising disinterestedness. He is, in the judgment of Scott, one of the most heroic characters, according to ancient ideas of heroism, which occur in English history. He knows the exact moment to strike, and the season for quiescence. He is superhumanly prompt in action. Never there courage so reckless, such abounding energy. He is ubiquitous, riding round the walls of a beleaguered city

with a single aide-de-camp, rowing over midnight the command a loitering fleet and wake up lethargic admirals. He is sagacious in counsel, especially when closeted with himself, in the field. If he have a defect it is that he is only too crafty and far-seeing, a Machiavel spoilt by a Cassandra. Had he not been thwarted he might, he almost must have changed the course of European history. When the danger inconvenience to the balance of power from an amalgamation of the vast Spanish and Austrian dominions is considered, consolation is found for the vexatious phenomenon that this meteoric genius had its beams intercepted and finally extinguished by a combination of jealous rivalry, dull wits, sluggish temper, and selfish rapacity.

That is the glowing, rapturous picture to which English imaginations, and even English historical students, have been accustomed for more than a century and a half. But there is another view of the scenes of the War of the Succession in which he no longer shines forth as the foremost champion. It was a view not unknown to politicians in the reign of Queen Anne. Since that time it had remained practically in abeyance until in 1888 Colonel Arthur Parnell embodied it, with much force and learning, in his *History of the War of the Succession*. Colonel Parnell puts different personages in Peterborough's triumphant place, and either defaces or obliterates him. His supplanter in the first place is Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt. Prince George had fought bravely under the Third in Ireland. Having subsequently turned Catholic in order to serve the Emperor, he is disqualified for direct military

employment in the English army, but the better qualified the Continent. His connection, Charles the Second of Spain, appointed him Viceroy of Catalonia. When the War of the Succession commenced he turned to the Peninsula with a high commission from the Austrian Pretender, Charles the Third. To him the capture and preservation of Gibraltar are in great due. There was stationed Charles's representative when the English expedition arrived at Lisbon June 20th. the account which sets him in the front rank find that nothing but his disqualification as a Catholic for an English commission hindered his direct appointment to the command of the expedition. As he must not appear, an English general had to be selected to act under his guidance. Peterborough chosen as a figure-head. On the arrival of the fleet at Lisbon the Prince hastened from Gibraltar. At the council of it was on his motion that it formally resolved to attack Barcelona. To Gibraltar he returned forthwith to prepare its seasoned troops for joining in the undertaking. The direction of the expedition, are told, assumed by him when the fleet sailed from Gibraltar. At the news of his arrival on the coast of Valencia the population flocked to the shore to welcome him. When Denia declared for Charles, the Prince arranged for its occupation and selected Major-General Basset y Ramon as commandant. Preceding the fleet called out the Miquelets, he whom the Catalans eager to greet and honour. When the volunteer peasants were assembled he decided their duties, assigning to investment of the city. When the English generals at councils of resisted

the plan of a siege the Prince led the party which supported it.

With dogged perseverance, and in the teeth of the constant opposition of fools and knaves, he called English adversaries, he had to try to force the Allies to attempt the work for which they Their army consisted of six thousand six hundred British soldiers, two thousand five hundred Dutch, five hundred and seventy Catalans, three thousand Miquelets, and a of enthusiastic countrymen. It supported by a fleet of sixty-six sail of the line carrying twenty-four thousand seamen and three thousand five hundred guns. The garrison to which it opposed had no than three thousand two hundred foot and eight hundred horse, many of them disaffected. The fortress defended chiefly by a wall exposed to artillery fire at all ranges, with small towers, a few bastions, a ditch, and a low glacis. Failing in persuading the English generals to cannonade the town, though siege works, if not very effectual, begun, the Prince contracted his ambition. With him, and him solely, it seems, originated the idea of the assault on Montjuich. The fort, we are informed, was small in itself and weak. It held by more than two hundred soldiers, and was indifferently strengthened by an unfinished line of bastioned advanced works. It nowise constituted a citadel for Barcelona, and its capture by no means essential to the capture of the town. But he hoped that success against it might encourage the Englishmen to fly higher game. He made an offer, which was accepted, to conduct the assault in person. He looked after the necessary preparations, selected officers.



When the assault was delivered he was in command of the stormers, and gave them their orders. He perceived the importance of the occupation of the post of San Bertran, the way on the steep hill-road between the city and Montjuich. While he was leading in that enterprise he met his death. His fall caused such terror among the troops that it nearly produced the collapse of the whole undertaking. Virtually it sealed the doom of the throne of Carlos Tercero. The void in the conduct of the expedition made by Prince George's death was represented as having been partially filled by a group of men. At Barcelona was shown Richards bombarding Montjuich, Southwell advancing sword in hand to the breach, Shovel directing naval attacks upon the city, Petit raining batteries, prominent Catalans marshalling the Miquelets, and Lichtenstein acting in Prince George's place as the King's minister of war. When Governor Velasco was dismayed at the temper of the citizens, Charles, whose protection was invoked, and Stanhope with his singular tact in appeasing Spanish tumults and his knowledge of the language, were alone on the stage. As managers of the submission of the countries of Catalonia and Valencia to the Austrian sovereign, various men stand forth who have appeared in Peterborough's biographers mere subordinates or mischief-makers. The Count of Cifuentes with two thousand four hundred Miquelets seized Lerida and all the other strongholds towards the Catalan frontier of Aragon. In the south Joseph Nebot, another bold partisan, subdued Tortosa on the Ebro, and, with the help of Captain Cavendish's frigates, Tarragona. In the north-east Gerona was occupied.

Some thirty ■ forty other forts were similarly reduced by spontaneous Catalan efforts; and still there is not a word of the British commander-in-chief.

The story of the adhesion of Valencia to King Charles in the new version is marked by the ■■■■ omission. Basset y Ramos is here the hero. He induced Raphael Nebot, who ■■■■ blockading him ■■ Denia ■■ behalf of King Philip, to desert to the standard of King Charles. Together they seized several fortified Valencian towns. At last Basset y Ramos with ■■■■ hundred men besieged the strong and populous city of Valencia, which the inhabitants surrendered to him. In the tale of the siege of San Mateo the honours are awarded exclusively to Colonel John Jones, the governor. When it is relieved by the Tortosa garrison it is remarked incidentally that the relieving force ■■■■ accompanied by Peterborough, who happened to join it as ■■ was starting. Praise is given to Basset y Ramos for ■■■■ conduct of the defence of Valencia against las Torres and los Arcoas. The fact of its relief by Peterborough, whose ■■■■ is coupled with Killigrew's as if they had been joint generals, ■■ noted with no comment, unless that he and his men obtained at Valencia very comfortable quarters. Mahoni's capitulation at Murviedro is stated without particulars. All that marvellous medley of knight-errantry, Quixotism, and gaminerie, known as the war of Valencia, which has fascinated such diverse natures as Swift's, Johnson's, Scott's, Macaulay's, is clean wiped out of existence by the annihilation of its one central figure.

The reader may still have hoped to stumble back on the familiar track as he approaches the defence of Barce-

lona against King Philip [redacted] Tessá. He will be disappointed. [redacted] [redacted] introduced to several remarkable characters. King Charles remained undaunted. [redacted] ministers, Lichtenstein the secretary for war and Uhlfeldt the governor, were doing their best. Colonel Petit, their chief engineer, had put the fortifications into [redacted] efficient condition. By Lichtenstein's orders Donegal and St. Amant valiantly brought eighteen hundred soldiers in boats from Gerona. The governor [redacted] Tortosa sent Hamilton's foot regiment by forced marches on mules, and Wills contributed a dragoon detachment from Lerida. Fifteen hundred Miquelets had volunteered for the walls, and five thousand burghers formed a faithful city guard. Cifuentes from the [redacted] skilfully harassed the powerful French army, and cut its communications with the interior. Donegal fiercely defended Montjuich, which, however, had finally to be abandoned. Prince Henry of Hesse with wonderful adroitness and courage insinuated four hundred Neapolitans into the town by water through the blockading fleet. Uhlfeldt, Peterborough's maligned bugbear, led gallant sorties. Breaches [redacted] met by Petit with retrenchments, and mines with countermines. When the siege [redacted] raised Cifuentes showed indefatigable activity in pursuing the retreating Frenchmen. [redacted] John Leake himself, whose dilatoriness has often been criticised, has no fault found with him on that [redacted]. On the contrary, he is extolled for having [redacted] accomplished one of the most important instances on record of the naval relief of a beleaguered fortress. The only man of all officially associated with [redacted] series of events never once mentioned for good in the revised account is he to whom [redacted] has been the practice to

attribute ■■■ entire glory of them. More inglorious ■■■ would seem to have been the commander-in-chief's part in the following campaign. ■ it he is a ■■■ cipher. Of his share ■ the directing strategist in the creation of ■ line of communications between Valencia and Castile there ■ not a word. He sailed ■ September 15th, and his ■■■ in Spain ■■ at ■ end. His reappearance in Valencia from Italy in January, 1707, is passed ■■■ with the remark that he ■■ necessarily superseded by his senior, Galway, in the command of the English troops.

The banishment of that shining personality from ■■■ in which it has dominated for more than ■ century and ■ half is not accomplished by ■■■ merely of negatives. So ■■ as August 5th, in Altea Bay, Peterborough is alleged to have "manifested a repugnance to active operations," because ■ wished, it is said, to divert the expedition to Italy. The successive councils of war ■ which his officers protested against ■ siege were, ■ is hinted, called by him to justify his dislike for fighting. When he agreed ■ attack Barcelona before marching to Valencia, he, from "cowardice, disaffection, and jealousy of the Prince," gave his confidant, Richards, orders to amuse the King by ■ mock show of activity. He violated, it is declared, ■ "no real soldier, bred in habits of discipline, could," by his project for proceeding to North Italy, the Queen's explicit instructions which commanded him first to attempt Barcelona and then Cadiz. He told ■ falsehood when he pretended that private letters from ministers, alluding to the difficulties of the Duke of Savoy, amounted to orders to go and aid him. He promised Prince George the fleet's help in the siege, and ■ joint admiral protested against ■ grant by Shovel. He affected

loyalty ■ King Charles, ■ his private letters ■ Duke ■ Savoy convict him of a perfidious understanding, which in ■ of them took the open shape of a desire to substitute the Duke for Charles ■ the Spanish throne. He was regarded in the army and ■ with contempt for ■ design of deserting the Catalans, and ■ properly classified by Prince George with "fools ■ knaves." He consented to the assault on Montjuich, which he disliked, ■ he disliked fighting of any kind whenever ■ could be avoided, only because he became sensible of the indignation ■ the camp, and foresaw it would be reproduced ■ England. Instead of mourning with sincerity the death of Prince George he wrote to Godolphin on October 23rd, that it was of the greatest importance for the public success, for the people would never submit to German governors. He did not ■ for the harm he might do to the cause provided he could wreak ■ spite ■ anything German. He cherished ■ grudge against Charlemont for his gallantry at Montjuich; and for that crime shortly afterwards deprived him of his regiment by "a shabby subterfuge." ■ is represented ■ defending the province of Valencia ingloriously, and ■ having loitered in Valencia city from ■ love of ■ and pleasure. ■ refusal to comply with King Charles's wish that he should ■ upon Tessé's lines ■ Barcelona in April, 1706, ■ simply "want of courage," though he shielded it behind the resolutions of ■ council of war. He ■ ■ he could to thwart the prayers ■ Charles and the doggedly loyal plans of Leake for the relief of ■ city by the English fleet. ■ acted a part at once treacherous and cowardly in idling on the coast for ■ convoy for his fourteen hundred troops, who, ■ they had been under the orders of gallant

Prince Henry, would long before have cut their way into Barcelona. Capping incapacity with perfidy, with vanity which exposed him to the ridicule of the fleet, he sought to appear as the saviour of the town by hoisting his admiral's flag at the mainmast of Leake's ship. He vaunted the providence and energy by which he pretended he had in his sojourn of two months at Valencia paved a safe and abundantly supplied road to Madrid. It all make-believe, he practically had to confess. Instead of striving to compensate for deficiencies, he frittered away the strength of which he really could dispose on worthless enterprises. Urgent requests from Galway for succour he totally neglected. When he marched at last into Castile he brought with him not a tenth of the force he had at his command. He was useless in the camp, and he played the part of a coward in quitting it. "Considering that at the time Berwick immediately in front of the Allies, this voluntary act of departure was nothing less than desertion from the army in the face of the enemy, the most heinous of all military crimes." Colonel Parnell manifestly would have endorsed and amplified Peterborough's modest avowal, as recorded by Pope, that "in the presence of a proper danger—nay, of any and every danger—he could be as frightened as another man." His ostensible mission in Italy the negotiation of a loan. He really skulked off, we are told, to amuse himself and, it is insinuated, to prosecute his intrigue with the Duke of Savoy. So had had all his conduct been in Spain, which, "fortunately for the Allies," he last left, it had greatly disgusted Marlborough and the Queen's ministers, "though they of their own

political party." It is ■■■■ that there ■ little doubt he had embezzled public money. Finally he is dismissed from further military and historical notice ■ ■ impostor.

Hard hitting is always attractive, and the framer of this tremendous indictment possesses the art. In days in which ■■ sorte of dubious characters ■■ being ■■ habilitated, it is natural there should be ■■ occasional experiment at the opposite process. The blackening of Peterborough is ■ counterpoise to the white-washing of many ■■■■ than piebald reputations. But it is possible to be as unjust in dethroning popular idols as in robbing the gibbet. Now, in the ■■■■ place, it is difficult to see in what capacity Prince George is to snatch from Peterborough the responsibility and honour of conducting the Barcelona campaign. His rank ■■■■ at King Charles's Court ■■■■ vague. In ■■ case could it empower him to ■■■■ the direction of the army of the Allies. Peterborough ■■■■ commander-in-chief of the British contingent, which ■■■■ the backbone of the expedition. He ■■■■ joint admiral of the fleet. None but he, not even King Charles, ■■■■ entitled to order the movements of the Queen's troops. Neither the British Ministry, ■■■■ Peterborough, nor the officers of the expedition recognised the Prince, except as an experienced local counsellor. It ■ not shown, though it is asserted, that the Prince ever acted as generalissimo, or that Peterborough did not thus act. Then there is the particular question of the storming of Montjuich. According to Colonel Parrell, the author of the scheme, whoever he was, had small cause for pride in it, the fort being an inconsiderable little post, not worth the inevitable waste of life involved ■■

its assault. Yet Colonel Parnell is zealous in claiming a monopoly of the idea for the Prince, as ■ it ■ high distinction, by arguments which prove little more 'than that he may have conceived it, ■ Colonel de St. Pierre, praised by Colonel Parnell for his honest independence, says he conceived it. Doubtless it occurred to several, including Peterborough, though Richards ■ to have known nothing of the title of anybody else. He asseverates that Peterborough ■ the real projector; and he scarcely ■ the ■ satellite that he ■ to Colonel Parnell. So harsh a critic ■ he eventually became would not have left his very favourable statement of Peterborough's conduct of the assault in his journal uncanceled if the facts had seemed to him capable of ■ contrary construction. The explanation of Peterborough's apparent difficulty in making up his mind is that he delighted in keeping others in perplexity; in sending them off on ■ wild-goose chase of his intentions. It ■ a habit for which perversity of temper ■ than fear of the publication of his designs ■ answerable. In his ■ day he suffered for it in the anger and evil speaking of such ■ Richards. He pays the penalty ■ this interval of years in the denial to him of any credit for the accomplishment of ■ ■ project. As a matter of moral justice that is very right; but in point of historical truth it would be unsafe ■ to punish him. On the balance of evidence and conjectures the most probable inference is that Prince George had thought of ■ attack upon Montjuich independantly, and that Peterborough thought of it independently, but that Peterborough, being commander-in-chief, decided upon it in his own right, and whether ■ Sunday evening or, as is more likely, on



Sunday morning, stated to the Prince his decision, not acquiescence.

If idle dispute the accomplishment the plan due the commander-in-chief of the Allies, who was present in person. Unless for his intervention it is admitted there would have been a fatal failure. If he were, as alleged, unjust to Charlemont his is to be regretted. It natural, and all but unavoidable, when he the acting leader and his flying together with in pursuit. The final capture of the fort is attributed to him on testimony sufficient that by which any general his honours. At all events it cannot be claimed for Prince George, who died at a crisis of defeat. If it were not in itself of essential consequence, but only desired by the Prince an incentive to a serious attempt on the town, it can as plausibly be contended for Peterborough that this was motive also. There is a difference in his favour that he realised his calculation. It is a fanciful assumption that all his military colleagues voted vigorously against a siege from subservience to a chief for whom, assured, they felt no respect. They expressed, it may reasonably be presumed, their sincere opinion, which at one time, for good cause, his. Only, their reluctance outlasted his. When he became convinced that it impracticable to induce the King to march upon Madrid, as Prince George himself would originally have preferred, he well may have sought an occasion to animate them to attack Barcelona. He found it in the storming of Montjuich. Why it thought necessary to exalt the legitimate merit of Shovel in the operations the expense Peterborough not very comprehensible. As joint admiral,

Peterborough [REDACTED] responsible with Shovel for [REDACTED] naval aid. From him solely [REDACTED] Richards derived their authority for their engineering feats. It [REDACTED] strange to leave out of account his part in the [REDACTED] of the garrison and city [REDACTED] large from an agony of anarchy, and [REDACTED] transfer the praise to one of his brigadiers.

The capture of Barcelona may not have been the arduous and glorious exploit which Peterborough's panegyrists have accounted it. But the [REDACTED] credit, whatever its degree, is [REDACTED] by right. In the indictment against him full allowance is made for the difficulties involved in the subsequent wresting of Valencia from the Bourbon King, and the discomfiture of the French armaments in Catalonia. Here too, however, [REDACTED] in the previous events, Peterborough becomes a vanishing point, and, if visible, [REDACTED] rendered ridiculous. All his romantic marches and countermarches, the scaring of superior hosts, the audacious trickeries, the wisdom, the valour, the self-restraint, at one time are stigmatised [REDACTED] buffooneries of a coward; [REDACTED] another they [REDACTED] massed together, and, with much harshness to a very respectable writer, Major George Warburton, dismissed as "a tissue of ludicrous invention, compiled by him under the guise of a biography." Freund, who really is the responsible authority, has, it may be conceded, here and there coloured a story, [REDACTED] often as not in a [REDACTED] to tell against its hero. For the absolute relegation of his narrative to the realm of myths no ground exists. [REDACTED] less reason is there for ascribing the initiative in military movements, upon which grave issues depended, to anybody rather than the commander-in-chief. [REDACTED] by the middle of [REDACTED] King Charles [REDACTED] recognised

■ sovereign throughout Valencia, it ■ impossible to see ■ what fair pretext the honour ■ to be abstracted from Peterborough. At his entrance he found ■ powerful Bourbon army with no adversary to oppose it in the field. ■ left the province virtually freed and cleared. The criticism on a commander before whom a superior force has retreated in dismay, that during his progress he had taken, according to his ■ account, the most extraordinary precautions to avoid the possibility of being obliged to fight, ■ not convincing.

In the endeavour to deprive Peterborough of the renown of the relief of Barcelona from Tessé there ■ the same weakness. Happy results certainly effected ■ imputed ■ anybody but the ■ person immediately answerable. Peterborough entertained the belief after, as before, the capture of Barcelona that Madrid might be occupied by ■ bold march from Valencia. The period of ■ French siege ■ Barcelona was exceptionally favourable. Had Charles escaped, ■ Peterborough advised, from the city, where his presence ■ a most vital danger to his dynasty, he could have headed ■ ■ expedition to the capital sure to have succeeded. If the policy ■ mistaken, the error is not to be branded ■ either treacherous or dastardly. In no ■ ■ there any of the supposed incompatibility between the employment destined by Peterborough for the troops ■ board and the relief of the blockaded port by Leake's warships. When the plans for some more profitable ■ of the soldiers ■ definitely rejected Peterborough devoted his energies with ■ zeal which, ■ theatrical, seems to have been entirely sincere, to the hastening of the fleet with all its armament to the city. Leake must to

anxious expectants have appeared to be extremely slow. Peterborough might naturally believe that personal intervention was necessary. Of right flag was flown when he boarded the vice-admiral's ship. When he arrived in Barcelona, by equal right he took the lead in the defence. To him, by right again, belongs such praise as commonly attends the relief of a besieged town in a crisis of despair. The history of the period which followed is a tangle of purposes. Hard is the clue to discover and grasp, it can not be denied that Peterborough was wise in recommending the route by Valencia for the King's progress to Madrid. He advised it in good faith, and by that way had the means, which he desired to apply, of promoting success. When the King surrendered himself to rival counsellors Peterborough reviled or sulked. He had not the grace to take up cheerfully plans formed by others against which he had struggled. That was his defect, and a great defect, though not of the class indicated by the accusation upon him. Against the remainder of the accusation, based on his departure from the Guadalajara camp with a surfeit of generals, he requires no defence. Personally he ran more risk in his journey to the coast with eighty dragoons than by staying in the midst of an army.

Many choose to charge against Peterborough that he was furiously bent upon having his own way; that he could agree with none who were in command; that he was fond of independence to the point either of license or of tyranny; that he loved the appearance as well as the reality of power; that he would scheme and plot; that he was an insubordinate servant unless to a

very docile master, and a vexatious colleague for partners who would not consent to be clerks; that he could not appreciate good service, like that of Cifuentes and Basset y Ramos, which was not after the English model; that he was sceptical of virtues, like the courage and honesty of Charles, on account of their framework of haughtiness and fanaticism; that though his friends or dependents who could not be rivals he might exhibit the easiness of his nature and noble openness of mind extolled by Dr. Freind, he was in public life addicted to mysteries and to mystifying; that he was in the habit of attitudinising; that himself and his admirers grudged his associates all share in his fame; that exploits ascribed to him which he neither performed nor ordered; that many Spaniards combated bravely and obstinately for King Charles as he and most of the Englishmen; that his activity often degenerated into fussiness; that neither in words nor deeds was he always scrupulously honest; that he played at war, as he had played at politics; that his brightest exploits glorified the doer rather than promoted a cause; that interested contemporaries, and posterity enamoured of his picturesque and grotesque, have exaggerated the marvels of the siege and defence of Barcelona, and the conquest or deliverance of Valencia; that he committed mistakes, as when he omitted to head the pursuit of de Tessé's retreating army, and haggled unworthily over the precise amount of strength requisite for the subjugation of the Balearic Isles; that much of the enthusiasm for him was a form of spite against his enemies—if, in short, the object be to insert shadows, or to qualify his extravagances in partisanship, he must be a very

absolute apologist who would venture to protest. But ■ rank Peterborough as ■ nonentity, who suffered others to exercise the prerogatives which were his ; ■ betrayer of the interests he had pledged himself to guard ; ■ poltroon who ■■ considering how to ■■ skin ; a thief who boasted of his private sacrifices when he ■■ lavishing the pay of the State's soldiers ■■ his private pleasures and vices ; ■ braggart who imposed upon nobody—is to draw, instead of ■ portrait a caricature, and to try to rob history of ■ delightful episode, in ■■ and in character, without the gift of aught in its place. It is satisfactory to be able to ■■ to the conclusion that the accustomed figure remains much ■ it was, and where it was, though its pedestal may have been somewhat lowered. The standard of stature in the gallery of the War of the Spanish Succession is not so heroic that it could afford without a struggle to part with the ■■ type not drearily commonplace.

## CHAPTER IX

### RETURN—VINDICATION—DIPLOMACY

PETERBOROUGH did not disobey the order for his return to England to the literal extent of staying in Spain. He took his ■■■ self-willed and embarrassing mode of complying. Captain Henry Mordaunt was ■■■ on the Valencian coast, and ■ son of Stanhope ■■ captain of one of the five frigates under his command. Peterborough embarked with Charles's envoy to Piedmont on board the "Resolution." On the fifth day they fell in with six French men-of-war. Peterborough and the minister were persuaded, for the sake of the safety of their papers, to change their quarters to a faster frigate. Favoured by darkness they reached Leghorn. Henry Mordaunt fought his ship from six in the morning to three in the afternoon, when he ■■■ her ashore. The next day ■ French eighty-gun ship worked her way in, and Mordaunt with a ■■■■ wound in his thigh carried his ■■■ in boats to land. The news reached England, from ■ Dutch ■■■■ in the first place, ■ April 15th. Peterborough stopped to be assured of Henry's escape and then proceeded to Turin. There he would have resumed ■■ old discussion with the Duke ■■ expedition against Toulon and into Roussillon. Marlborough,

from intelligence he had received from Italy, reported to Godolphin that Peterborough's chiefest business at Turin had been to persuade the Duke to send troops to Catalonia, so that they might be able to make a diversion in Roussillon. He wanted that to be done from Piedmont which he had failed to induce Galway to do from Valencia. He had, moreover, another plan which he was simultaneously promoting, though it met with less sympathy from the Duke of Savoy. He wished to persuade the Queen's Government to despatch the fleet for the reduction of the Neapolitan dependencies of the Spanish crown. That scheme, according to a subsequent statement by Marlborough in Parliament, was discountenanced by the Duke of Savoy, who feared it might weaken the Toulon project. Peterborough's assistance even in the latter question, about which the Duke was sincerely anxious, could not be safely accepted. Though Peterborough held himself out as accredited by the King of Spain, the Duke was prudent enough to keep in him only an English subject out of favour. Chetwynd, the British envoy, had been instructed to repeat to him the Queen's positive mandate that he was to return to England, and had notified to the ministers at Turin that his commissions as plenipotentiary and general had been revoked. The Duke told Chetwynd he stopped Peterborough from going to the Toulon project was mooted. He told him he was unable to treat with a subject of the Queen whom he had justified himself in England of what he seemed to be accused; and to England the Duke's friend advised him to hasten. His interpretation of the Queen's orders and the Duke's counsel was, when he left Turin on April 30th, to return to England.



■ a circular tour by Austria, Saxony, and the Netherlands.

At every stage he stirred the speculation of Europe, ■ ■ ■ pleasure. The Emperor Joseph, King Charles's brother, received him well ■ Vienna. ■ ■ ■ supposed, Marlborough had heard, ■ be gone thither in quest of troops for the operations in Spain, though, he added, "his mind changes so often that there is not much weight to be ■ upon ■ motions." The main subject of his conversation ■ ■ ■ have been the Neapolitan expedition, which had caught the fancy of King Charles and the Emperor, and his advocacy of it put him into the good graces of the Austrian Court. Count Wratislaw, the Emperor's minister, who had been prejudiced against him, was captivated. He addressed Marlborough strongly in his favour and against Galway, whose incapacity, he predicted, would ruin Godolphin's administration. On July 2nd he wrote: "Lord Peterborough is ■ the eve of ■ departure to visit you. He has shown himself sufficiently humble, though his ardour has occasionally transported him beyond the limits of moderation. I have persuaded him not ■ publish his manifesto before he ■ with you ; and ■ the Court does not persecute him he will not do it. I believe it will be dangerous to offend him, as he is ■ Englishman and has been supplanted by ■ Frenchman, who has been the ■ of this irreparable loss. When you have spoken to him you will probably be more satisfied with him than you imagine ; for Prince Eugene ■ written to me that his lordship thinks like ■ general, though he does ■ always express himself with propriety, and it is likewise

true that he predicted the misfortunes which have come to pass."

By arrangement with Wratislaw Peterborough's next point [REDACTED] Leipsic. Wratislaw wished to ascertain the intentions of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden more freely than [REDACTED] possible through regular diplomacy [REDACTED] Court, where, [REDACTED] Peterborough wrote to Marlborough, private persons had the advantage of ministers, especially [REDACTED] they would put [REDACTED] a blue coat and a black cravat. Charles, having reduced Augustus of Saxony [REDACTED] abject submission, [REDACTED] preparing for his invasion of Russia. The world's gaze [REDACTED] concentrated [REDACTED] his movements. Marlborough had visited him in the spring, and had condescended to gross flattery in order to persuade him to direct his forces against France. Peterborough fancied he might be more successful, through the sympathy perhaps of mixed heroism and craziness. A narrative of his visit has been preserved in an intercepted letter from Besenval, the French Agent with Charles. The King, though apprised of the visit, did not admit Peterborough to his presence at Leipsic, and rode off to the camp [REDACTED] Altranstädt without giving him notice. Peterborough, hearing he [REDACTED] gone, borrowed a groom's horse and followed. At length coming up he begged Charles not [REDACTED] fast, [REDACTED] liberty, he sarcastically said, he would not have taken if he had been mounted [REDACTED] the smallest of the horses with which his Majesty's stables [REDACTED] filled. Charles laughed and listened [REDACTED] him all the way to Altranstädt. [REDACTED] years later he regarded Charles [REDACTED] a mere headstrong youth, who had lost many kingdoms by pride and folly. Now he could not determine whether he [REDACTED] very wise [REDACTED] very foolhardy, any more [REDACTED] Besenval could tell

whether Peterborough himself were bold — a madman. — theme he had carefully meditated, and committed — paper. As they rode side by side he expounded it with — personal charm acknowledged by all — contemporaries. It — adapted to the Royal Swede's absolute selfishness and insatiable vanity. He argued, not from a British or from an European point of view, but from that of his companion, which, he believed, might ultimately be equally for — benefit of England. He showed how, with the eighteen thousand horse, eight thousand dragoons, and fifty thousand foot, the best troops in the world, mad enough to obey with pleasure all he could command, the King might determine the fate of Europe in the quality of arbitrator. Charles — not likely to be offended by — "too great vivacity." The little impression his efforts produced he — disposed to attribute to the antagonism of some Swedish ministers who — suspected of being pensioners of England. His real and invincible obstacle was the fixed idea in the King's mind of a supreme blow at the Czar, which, it — fated, should be struck, and rebound, at Pultowa.

The visits to Charles and the Emperor had been two motives of Peterborough's circuit through Europe. On his — from point to point he amused himself according to his nature and his philosophy of life. He wrote to Stanhope, still intimate though no longer trusted, that he did not mean to reach Parliament and old England before the autumn. In the meantime he — enjoying the pleasure of liberty and idleness, going from Court to Court, seeing wonders. Among other diversions was a visit to Hanover. There he — said to have flattered the wish of — Electress Sophia to pay a

visit to England ■ heiress presumptive to the Crown. In return she entertained ■ daily ■ dinner and supper, sending ■ state-coach with six horses to fetch him. Apparently the impression he made upon ■ important person, her son, ■ unfavourable. "But an interview with Marlborough was his true object, and to that both intending guest and host looked with ■ anxiety. Peterborough announced from Altranstätt the stage he had reached ■ his road. He spoke frankly of his visit to the Swedish camp, of his dislike for the offensive war programme forced upon the Allies in Spain, in deference to "Mr. Stanhope's politics," and of his regret at the neglect of his advice to sail against Naples. Above all, he embraced the opportunity of warning Marlborough, ■ ■ confidant of the ministry, of the line he intended to take towards it. He should be glad, he wrote on July 22nd, to meet with ■ suitable protection, at least justification, from the Queen, and he had waited with great patience to the end. If it were not rendered, he could give it himself at any time; and he could not doubt but that the Queen would permit him to employ himself elsewhere ■ her Majesty had ■ occasion for his services. Marlborough had not, it seems, replied very quickly to the Earl's letters. He told his duchess at the end of June that he had not sent ■ to any of them, not knowing where to forward them. As early, however, ■ May he had received with polite warmth the first suggestion of ■ visit. Lady Peterborough appears ■ have intimated that she might perhaps ■ the Channel to meet her husband, and the Duke prayed that in such an event he might be allowed to welcome both in ■ camp. To the ■ he wrote, when he learnt

where ■ address him, hoping ■■■ "your friendship to me," together with the "curiosity of seeing this army," would bring him very quickly. ■ forwarded a French pass to Cologne, which would enable him to travel by the shortest route without risk from French partisans. Not long before he had seriously and with no apparent irony been contrasting, in a letter to Lady Peterborough, the "perfect friendship and good ■■■ spondence" of Noyelles and Peterborough with the bad understanding between "our other generals and ■ Court of Spain," which had ■ to the "misfortunes ■ lie under in that country." But he recommended to Count Maffey caution in ■ intercourse with the traveller, who, he said, ■ capable "d'élargir, et de donner tout un autre tour à ■ qu'on lui voudrait dire."

Peterborough arrived ■ Marlborough's headquarters at Soignies early in August, and stayed too long for his host's liking. He and Marlborough ■ at the opposite poles in character. Though they had long been intimate, and continued to exchange compliments with one another ■ late as 1709, they ■ naturally mistrustful. Spontaneously he would hardly have sought the Duke's society ■ than the Duke sought his. Now, however, he had something to gain. He had his case ■ place before ■ who, of ■ contemporary Englishmen, was the most potent to give it vogue. For ten days he went over his campaigns and his controversies. Marlborough was strongly prejudiced against his conduct, and regarded ■ apologies for him ■ damaging to their authors. He had written to ■ duchess ■ June 27th, 1707, that the people in ■ ■ who seemed ■ ■

favourable to Lord Peterborough were of all [redacted] in that country. Probably he always had an aversion which [redacted] silenced for a while out of policy, or perhaps in deference to his wife. Recently the feuds [redacted] the Court of Charles [redacted] perplexed the minister [redacted] whom Marlborough relied. Unless so far [redacted] the interests of the English war party [redacted] involved, Marlborough's [redacted] in the merits of Peterborough's policy [redacted] alight. His tendency always [redacted] to feel jealous of any fervent English interest in the campaigns in Spain, from a fear that it might lead to a curtailment of his [redacted] military [redacted]. Here [redacted] Soignies he [redacted] closeted with him and could not escape, but beneath his mask of invariable serenity he suffered atrociously. He groaned on August 15th to his wife [redacted] the continual rain; the weather shut off all possibility of a break in interminable conversations, in which "everything said [redacted] day the next destroyed." Three days later he wrote in despair to Godolphin that Lord Peterborough had said all that was possible, but said nothing of leaving the army. He [redacted] intensely wearied by the tale, which [redacted] his real conviction very much what it had been. He [redacted] but slenderly impressed by the kindness [redacted] for the Earl by the Duke of Savoy. [redacted] the very obliging letters from the King of Spain which he showed, he ironically remarks that he could [redacted] but wonder [redacted] them after what the King [redacted] written against him. Peterborough [redacted] boasted that he should justify himself in every particular. The [redacted] that Marlborough could force [redacted] to say in a letter, probably open, which he gave him at his departure to pre- [redacted] to Godolphin, [redacted] that, so far [redacted] he [redacted] capable of

judging, the Earl had, ■ verily thought, acted with great zeal. The ■ clear conclusion on his behalf was, ■ it had been before, that, ■ Wratislaw warned, he might, innocent ■ not, be dangerous if persecuted. He ■ in embarrassed circumstances, which itself in Marlborough's eyes meant mischief. He ■ declared he ■ some thousand pounds ■ ■ for the service, having lost ■ equipages; and this would certainly seem very serious to Marlborough. Six weeks earlier ■ ■ written that all he knew concerning Lord Peterborough ■ that he would do anything to get the payment of an arrear of about £3000. A needy, reckless genius ■ quired wary handling. The duchess ■ recommended to watch her pen in any ■ to his letters; for that, ■ ■ later, it would be in print. A few months before he had impressed caution in the ■ spirit: "There is nothing that may not be expected from Lord Peterborough and his fair lady. I have observed since I have been in the world that the next misfortune to having friendship with such people is that of having any dispute with them, and that ■ should be taken to have as little ■ do with them ■ possible." One of his character could not with impunity be either encouraged or, Godolphin is reminded, rebuked: "He is very capable of pushing his animosities ■ far ■ to hurt himself, and give a good deal of trouble to others, which ■ to be wished might have been avoided, especially this winter."

He returned ■ August 20th, and surprised everybody by doing nothing. He had been ten days or a fortnight in town without even trying to see the Queen ■ the ministers. His explanation ■ that, having been

struck out of the Privy Council, he thought it improper to go to Court unless he were sent for. His reference was not to his expulsion from the Council in the previous reign, which had been reversed by his restoration in March, 1705. But in May, 1707, in consequence of the Act of Union with Scotland, a new Privy Council for Great Britain had been constituted. Peterborough and fifteen others, who were members of the old Council for England, partly on account of absence from London and partly for political reasons, were not summoned to attend. He, therefore, was for the present not a Privy Councillor. Another explanation he is said to have given of his delay was that he was waiting for the issue of a good reception. His old friends and colleagues had no intention to accord it to him. They declared he must first render an account of his negotiations and transactions, and that his general instructions positively required it. A week before his arrival Mr. Secretary Harley, acting, as Godolphin believed, with the sympathy of Halifax, Somers, and Sunderland, had advised him positively harshly. He told Godolphin that Peterborough ought to be required to show he had obeyed orders, and in default should be sent to trial for a misdemeanour before a special jury. Harley's opinion was that it was better to let him work to defend himself than to leave him leisure to do mischief. At length he applied for an audience. Sunderland is said to have refused it until he should have cleared himself of several charges. He must explain why he had not marched to Madrid in the last campaign, and why he had not given King Charles the money entrusted to him for the pur-



pose ; ■ must also excuse ■ journey to Italy without orders from home, and ■ disadvantageous terms of his Genoa loan. ■ reply was addressed ■ the nation, ■ ■ the Secretary of State. He had said : " I have overcome all my enemies except lies, and those I have papers enough with ■ to defeat." From them Freind, as has already been mentioned, drew up the Account of the ■ of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain. Its official dryness ■ leavened by ■ measured indignation which ■ loudly echoed by ■ multitude of enemies of the Government. Tories were able to claim the merit of impartiality in their sudden admiration of its theme. A Whig of Whigs, Peterborough ■ abhorred and persecuted by his political brethren ; the Tories caressed him ■ if out of pure patriotism. They lauded his constant success ; they inquired the reason for the neglect and premature recall of the only general who, ■ Swift later expressed it, " by ■ course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom of Spain." He had resumed his attendance in Parliament. In his presence, ■ December 15th, 1707, ■ Tory Lord Rochester alluded to him ■ having been employed in most important posts, and been neither thanked ■ censured. Peterborough spoke, not defending himself, but simply demanding ■ inquiry. The Queen ■ privately present. On ■ subsequent motion for an address to the Queen in favour of ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ in Spain, and persuading the Emperor to ■ his brother more vigorously by the despatch of reinforcements under Prince Eugene, he inveighed against peace on any other terms than the enthronement of Charles ■ whatever cost. Rather than leave

the [redacted] with the Bourbons he would return and [redacted] under the Earl of Galway.

Shortly afterwards a distinct demand [redacted] raised for a recognition of Peterborough's services. Halifax replied for the Government. With intentional ambiguity he admitted that the achievements, if Dr. Fraind [redacted] to be believed, [redacted] only to be equalled by those related by Quintus Curtius of Alexander the Great. But charges had been brought which must be refuted before rewards [redacted] given. [redacted] contended that inquiry [redacted] necessary first into the whole tenor of the general's conduct, and he understood the Earl himself to have nothing [redacted] at heart. At [redacted] the challenge [redacted] accepted. An inquiry was ordered, and it commenced in January, 1708. A vast body of evidence, both documentary and oral, [redacted] produced, which nobody cared to weigh judicially. The inquiry [redacted] a trial of strength between the Ministry and the Opposition, in which the question of Peterborough's generalship was tossed to and fro [redacted] a football. As Swift, not yet a close friend of his [redacted] he [redacted] soon to become, described it, with some indignation at the waste of public time, the affair seemed to be little [redacted] than [redacted] amusement. It [redacted] a perfect jest, he wrote on February 5th, 1708, to [redacted] how in this game of [redacted] purposes Godolphin's Whig Cabinet insinuated that the commander it [redacted] chosen [redacted] an impostor, while the Tories hotly upheld the heroism of as great a Whig [redacted] could be found in the kingdom. A week later he wrote that [redacted] still upon the anvil, and what they would beat it into no [redacted] could tell. Peterborough's speeches [redacted] to have been extremely long. One [redacted] January [redacted] [redacted] said to have lasted for

three hours; but they not tire out his hearers, so bravely did he defy the ministers, and so sharply wittily did he fire into their ranks. According to Addison, he showed more ordinary gaiety both in House and out of it. The result of ten days of controveray, scattered January and February, not very decisive. The House affirmed the allegation against the Government that, at the date of the battle of Almanza, only eight thousand hundred were in English pay when, according to the votes, the number should have been twenty-nine thousand six hundred. On the personal question of Peterborough's conduct it adopted none of the accusations. A Dr. Kingston, who had ventured to print reflections on his Spanish campaigns, was ordered into the custody of the Black Rod, and on January 20th the Attorney-General directed to prosecute him. On the other hand, a motion for a vote of thanks defeated. Halifax's contemporary biographer boasts this due to that statesman's "dexterous management in favour of the Duke of Marlborough, who would otherwise have resented the refusal of thanks to himself." Such dexterity is not admirable. An inquiry by a board of generals Whitehall in February, under the presidency of the Duke of Schomberg, into the behaviour Lord Charlemont at Montjuich and Peterborough's conduct in depriving him of colonelcy by disbanding regiment in disgrace, was equally inconclusive. The board would not take responsibility of condemning either Charlemont or Peterborough.

Popularly it had been supposed that the Government would accept the Parliamentary debates as a complete

justification. At the end of July, 1708, it was rumoured that Peterborough had kissed the Queen's hands, and was about to be gazetted Governor of Jamaica. The first part of the story was true. Godolphin wrote on July 30th from Windsor to Marlborough that Peterborough had come hither that morning with instructions to wait upon the Queen for the first time since his return to England. Nothing was farther from the intention of the Government than the grant of any bounty, irritated by his pertinacity in attacking their military policy. The retort was a succession of importunities for the details of his receipts and disbursements. Richards remarks in his journal upon the laxity of his book-keeping, and his habit of giving money to his officers without security for its due expenditure. As he could render no regular accounts, his property was attached till he should have cleared up his pay-lists. It was retaliation for the insinuations of his supporters that the country had been taxed for the maintenance of thousands in Spain who were never there. Throughout the remainder of 1708 and the early months of 1709 he was occupied with the compilation of ledgers. He was made amenable for others, from whom he had not obtained discharges. These fiscal worries explain the disappearance of his figure from public view for some time after the inquiry closed. At that moment the Treasury appeared to be inclined to leniency. On January 31st, 1709, a privy seal was drawn for the discharge of the Earl of Peterborough's lands from any demands of the Crown on account of his late employment in Spain. But the ministerial temper soon resumed its old harshness. He exclaimed indignantly to Godolphin in a letter of March

26th, 1709, that for all ■ services the recompense he had to expect was not to be master of his own estate, under the pretext that he had ■ disposition of public moneya. He requested an ■ audit, and Godolphin ordered it. Fresh demands sprouted out from it. Thus in April, 1709, the Prize Committee ■ for money chargeable on the prizes which had been made while he ■ in command.

In the same year and in the next he had other and ■ grievous ■ for want of interest in public affairs, and for ■ intention, arising, he said, from the little satisfaction he found in this country, to ask the Queen's leave to go abroad. He alluded in his letter of March 26th to Godolphin to ■ wife's indisposition. On May 13th she died of a quinsy. A poet of Grub Street describes her ■ possessed of beauty and wit and every charming grace. The muse in praising her ■ truthful if venal. She ■ the friend of Locke, and ■ brave, clever, fascinating, and faithful wife, who ■ have held her husband's affections much ■ durably than he with ■ chronicles of gallantry liked the world to suppose. He buried her in the family tomb in Turvey Church, which, with the dilapidated hall degraded into a farmhouse, practically represented his share ■ the ancient patrimony of Mordaunt. Her death ■ not to be Peterborough's only bereavement. In February, 1710, his second son Henry, the hero of the "Resolution," after a slow recovery from his terrible wound, had been carried off by smallpox, to the general regret of all who knew him; and in April his elder son John fell a victim to the same fatal disease. John, Lord Mordaunt, was ■ brilliant soldier. Marlborough complimented his father

upon the good share he ■■■ in the victory over the Bavarians ■ Schellenberg, and he lost ■ ■ ■ Blenheim. He also had distinguished himself in the House of Commons. Six months before, Peterborough had been visiting him ■ ■ ■ his wife's house in Yorkshire. One daughter, Lady Henrietta, and two grandsons, John's children by his wife, ■ daughter of the Duke of Bolton, ■■■ the wreck of Peterborough's family. The representation of the house of Mordaunt in the male line after his ■■■ death ■■■ continued by his elder grandson Charles, who became fourth Earl of Peterborough. He was succeeded by his son, Charles Henry, ■■■ and last Earl. Peterborough's daughter is described in ■ letter from Lady Mary Coke among the Melbourne Hall Papers as a great beauty, but "so ill-bred that she could not make a curtsy." She ■■■ married to Lord Huntly in February, 1707, became Duchess of Gordon, and died in 1780.

Peterborough ■■■ warm-hearted with all his affectation of frivolity. He may well, as is stated, have been stunned by his successive losses. But his nature ■■■ elastic, and circumstances did not permit him to languish in dejection. A Court earthquake in 1710 made him look ■ English politics with new and hopeful eyes. His principles were, as has before been said, sound Whig principles. Yet fate willed ■ that he should ■■■ than ■■■ be indebted for a fresh ■■■ to a crushing calamity of the Whig ■■■ The Duchess of Marlborough's feud with her mistress overthrew ■■■ so-called Whig ministry. A Tory ■ neo-Tory ministry, of which the chiefs ■■■ Harley and St. John, succeeded. The governing strength

the ministry in the Commons; in the Lords, where it had a large numerical following, it greatly outweighed in debating power and statesmanship by the Whig junto. Harley judged that Peterborough was, as he said, to be had, and he was worth having. Not allowing himself to be disturbed by his recollection of his advice to Godolphin in August, 1707, by Peterborough's notorious dislike of Tory and High Church doctrines, he proceeded to include him in the confederacy against Marlborough. Peterborough was flattered by seeming to be taken into the inner circle of the coterie. He was one of the five original guests at Harley's Saturday dinners, where the Brothers, as they styled themselves, settled over their wine the policy of the party. His prospects of office grew bright. The Godolphin administration had not been dismissed a week when it was rumoured that he was, like the late Prince George of Denmark, to combine the offices of General of the Marines and First Commissioner of the Admiralty, with Leake as second to him. According to a correspondent of the Duchess of Marlborough it was currently believed in August and September that he might have the appointment if he would. Only he himself demurred, pretending not to wish for coming into the Admiralty, but only to go to sea. Finally the Admiralty was otherwise disposed of; but he was appointed on November 2nd Captain-General of the Marines, with a day pay. Next month he was nominated Ambassador-Extraordinary to Vienna. The object of his mission was said to be to urge the Emperor to prosecute vigorously the war in Spain. As a means to that end he was to try to increase cordially between the Emperor and the Duke

of Savoy. Peterborough ■■■ only to be trusted with any business, for it to grow into overwhelming importance, and so it happened with his embassy to Vienna. Though, with his usual futile sagacity, he foresaw, as he told Swift, that he would be allowed to do no good by his present journey, his fancy treated ■ ■ ■ pivot ■■ which European politics in general should revolve. Undoubtedly it possessed real importance. Marlborough wrote in May to Secretary St John, and to the ■■■ purport to the Duke of Shrewsbury, that no proper ■■■■■ could be adopted with respect to ■ final arrangement of the affairs of the Spanish Succession until the steps taken by Peterborough with the Court of Vienna and the Duke of Savoy should be known. But few missions could have been actually so weighty ■ ■■ seemed to him. Swift, who was ■■ of the society of the Brothers, in ■ letter of January 3rd, 1711, sketches vividly the man's eager and exuberant energy. "Lord Peterborough yesterday called me into ■ butcher's shop, and there he talked deep politics. He desired me to dine with him to-day at the Globe in the Strand. ■■ said he would show ■■ very clearly how to get Spain. I went accordingly, and saw him among half a dozen lawyers and attorneys and hangdogs, signing deeds and stuff before his journey, for he goes to-morrow to Vienna. ■ sat among that scurvy company ■■ after four, but heard nothing of Spain."

He did not ■■ the morrow, for ■ ■■■■ which ■■ sufficient for him, who sincerely believed that he was entrusted with affairs ■ essential gravity. It ■■ much more than sufficient for the ministers. They had invented the Austrian mission ■ keep him engaged, and



■ afraid chiefly that he should turn it into ■ reality. His servants ■ at Greenwich on their way to embark when the two Houses resolved to inquire into the ■ duct of the ■ in Spain from the beginning. In December, 1710, through the absence of proper intelligence about the enemy's position such ■ Peterborough always succeeded in collecting, Stanhope and ■ couple of thousand Englishmen had been forced to surrender at Brihuega. The nation ■ enraged at the management which had conduced to such ■ end of the Spanish struggle. Harley and his colleagues ■ willing to gratify the sentiment to the utmost. Peterborough, they knew, would rejoice to help them to tear open the whole history on his ■ account. Consequently the Duke of Beaufort moved ■ January 4th, 1711, that he and others should be asked to explain to the House of Lords the circumstances of the Spanish campaigns, and ■ the next day the investigation began. Peterborough, Galway, and Sir Charles O'Hara, now Lord Tyrawley, were the principal officers called. Peterborough ■ interrogated on the policy of Galway's stay of ■ fortnight at Madrid in the summer of 1706, and ■ his alleged omission to keep Peterborough ■ Valencia informed of his movements ; on the King's choice of the route to Aragon instead of to Valencia ; and on the decision of the councils of war, in the winter of 1707, particularly that of January 15th, for offensive operations, and for ■ second march upon Madrid, with the reasons for the King's consequent departure to Barcelona.

At the invitation of the House he elaborately defended himself in ■ speech, which was also ■ indictment of

Godolphin's cabinet and of ■■■ favourite Galway. ■■■ had been, he charged, ■■■ supported and traduced, and the public had been imposed on. The *London Gazette* allowed the country to presume that twenty-five thousand troops sailed with Stanhope in the spring of 1706, when the true number ■■■ five thousand. ■■■ poor reinforcements as ■■■ miserably equipped : there ■■■ no carriages, mules, or horses, either for the men ■■■ the guns ; while for money he had to shift with the little he ■■■ of his ■■■ or could pick up about the world. Yet, he proudly asserted, no party of ■■■ under ■■■ command ■■■ ever beaten, and no ship was ■■■ lost. He extended his apology for himself to the time after he had ceased to participate in active military operations. He had been recalled, he complained, by the late ministry ■■■ the plea that, without the Queen's authority, he had negotiated matters of so high a nature as British armed concert with the Duke of Savoy in the siege of Toulon. He had gone to Turin, he confessed, for the purpose, and he contended that the negotiation ■■■ in precise accordance with his instructions. In pursuance, he argued, of a policy which it ■■■ his direct duty to promote, he had returned to Spain to arrange with Galway for a supply of five thousand auxiliaries for the Duke. ■■■ voice had been for an offensive ■■■ on the Italian frontier, and ■■■ attitude of defence in Spain. Galway rejected his advice in both particulars, and the result was Almanza. ■■■ own reward had been ■■■ abrupt letter of recall, which, however, he had ■■■ back unopened, and, ■■■ his return to England, cold and averted looks.

A series of questions was addressed to him, and he

answered them, first orally, then in a written capitulation, called it. Freind summoned before the House the fourth day of the inquiry, to the authenticity of the documents he had printed in his Account. Galway in vain read an elaborate explanation, which testified least to the honour and loyalty of the hardly-used veteran. In vain he tried to prove that the council of war of January 15th, 1707, at which Peterborough had given his opinion against offensive operations, was only one of a number of consultations, and that others which followed Peterborough had himself voted for marching to Madrid by way of Aragon. In vain Marlborough appealed for justice to Galway, a faithful servant to England, though "unhappy." To his and Lord Cowper's remarks on the merits of an offensive war, maintained by Galway, Peterborough retorted with irony that would be apt to think that the ministry for a defensive war, when it suffered him to want men, money, and all necessaries. The testimony of events all for him, and against the obstinately brave and tactically skilful but uninspired Huguenot. The dispute protracted, with intervals, several weeks, and had various stages. On January the House voted, by 45 to 45, that Peterborough's account of the council of Valencia was just, faithful, and honourable, disregarding Bishop Burnet's objection to the epithet just implying that Galway had not spoken truth in contradiction. On January 11th the debate resumed. Peterborough explained his journey to Italy to concert, he said, the siege of Toulon in conformity with his instructions. commented on his recall by

Secretary Sunderland in a despatch of September, 1706, which censured him for negotiating matters of so high importance without the Queen's authority. Incidentally an angry and confused altercation ensued. A letter was written to Secretary Hedges on September 10th, stating that the thought the capture of Toulon practicable. The inquiry took a fresh departure on January 12th. The respective responsibility of the cabinet and of the ministers for the conduct of the war was discussed. Peterborough inveighed against the control exercised by members of the so-called cabinet in foreign affairs. A doubt having been expressed of the meaning of the term Cabinet Council, he described it as "a body of persons who fingered the money, meddled with war, meddled with things they did not understand, so that sometimes there was no minister in the cabinet council." Then there was a pause to consider Galway's guilt or innocence in having yielded the right, the post of honour, the Almanza to the Portuguese. The House went into that theme on January 17th, and voted very absurdly that Galway had acted contrary to the honour of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. After another interval it considered, on January 31st, in order to cast odium on the Godolphin administration, the discrepancy between the number of troops Parliament had voted for Spain and the number which served there. The majority was determined at that time to condemn the late ministry and to justify Peterborough. By 68 to 32 it resolved that the late ministers were justly to be blamed for contributing to all disasters in Spain, and to the consequent disappointment of the expedition against Toulon, by carrying on an offensive war; that the Earl of Peter-

borough had performed many great and eminent services ; and, that his opinion in ■■■ council of ■■■ at Valencia, had it been followed, might very probably have prevented the subsequent misfortunes. Thirty-six peers protested against the vote. Motions by the Dukes of Argyle and Buckingham for ■ compliment to him and ■ vote of thanks ■■■ carried without dissent. Lord Keeper Harcourt had been ■ witness ■■■ wretched sequel to Fenwick's Attainder Bill ; ■■■ he ■■■ mouthpiece of the enthusiasm of his brother peers for Peterborough's amazing success in Spain, due to his personal bravery and conduct. "Such," he said, "is your lordship's known generosity and truly noble temper, that I ■■■ myself the present I ■■■ offering ■ the ■■■ acceptable, ■ it comes pure and unmixed, and ■ unattended by any other reward, which your lordship might think an alloy to it." Peterborough answered with eloquent simplicity that such a recompense ■■■ ■■■ sufficient for any past hardships, and nothing could give ■ addition to it. On February 10th an address was presented to the Queen, expressing the admiration of the House for the many great and eminent services performed by the Earl of Peterborough.

The votes of the peers proved, it must be confessed, literally nothing on their declared subject. They ■■■ no ■■■ evidence that Peterborough ■■■ ■ pattern of generalship, valour, and wisdom, or that Galway ■■■ ■ obstinate military pedant with ■ Frenchman's indifference ■ the honour of the British flag, than, ■ sixty-eight peers had happened to be Whigs ■■ forty-eight to be Tories, ■■■ reverse resolutions would have settled Galway's merit

and Peterborough's demerit. With the existing balance of parties, and in the existing fury of party spirit, they ■ ■ foregone conclusion. But they answered their purpose. They ■ ■ to utter weariness of the ■ ■ and to ■ ■ of Marlborough. Marlborough, when he defended Galway, ■ ■ repelling an attack upon himself, for Galway's failures ■ ■ not ■ ■ obnoxious ■ ■ Marlborough's glory. The panegyrics ■ ■ Peterborough ■ ■ intended, and interpreted, ■ ■ rebukes to the more famous general. He ■ ■ exalted that the other might be abased. Everybody has read how ■ ■ London mob, mistaking, which must have been difficult for the blindest mob, the restless wiry earl for the stately and serene duke, ■ ■ threatening violence, when Peterborough disabused it by two demonstrative arguments: "In the first place, I have only five guineas in my pocket, and secondly, here they are entirely at your service." Marlborough's odium gave Peterborough favour ■ ■ Court ■ ■ with the populace. A freethinker, and reputed ■ ■ loose liver, he owed ■ ■ the alliance between the Whigs and Marlborough no little favour also with devoted Church- ■ ■ ■ ■ republican tendencies ■ ■ ■ ■ condoned for the same ■ ■ ■ ■ by ardent Tories. As Marlborough's rival in military lustre he earned ■ ■ ■ ■ the compliments of Harley, St. John, and Harcourt, and the hatred of the duchess, who bracketed him with "Tyburn Dick" Rivers, the father of ■ ■ ■ ■ Savage, ■ ■ ■ ■ type of vileness of soul.

He did not linger in London to enjoy his notoriety. From Westminster, after ■ ■ victory, he drove home, only pausing ■ ■ a poulterer's to select a fat chicken for ■ ■ dinner. Granville, or Grenville, Lord Lansdowne,

who happened ■■■ as the choice was being made, ■■■ invited to accompany him and dine upon ■■■ and a bottle of claret, ■■■ related the transaction. The next morning he was ■■■ his way to Vienna. ■■■ ■■■ complicated by dissensions in the cabinet ■■■ was serving. In a letter addressed from Vienna to Swift, ■■■ "Bishop ■■■ Dean of ———," he expressed ■■■ scorn of the internal discords, of which rumours had reached him. Even Tokay, he said, could not cheer him when faction ■■■ ■■■ strong and credit ■■■ weak. ■■■ ■■■ doubt of his ■■■ in diplomacy: he had ridden the restive horse, he boasted, till it had become tame; but he hated diplomatic formalism. In the debates of 1708 he had spoken as if he had laid aside the sword for ever, and would fight ■■■ more, however long the ■■■ lasted; now he regretted his old campaigning life. "It is time," he wrote to Swift, "that statesmen employ ■■■ in my own trade, not theirs. If they have nothing else for me'to subdue let me command against this rank Whiggish puppet show. Tell St. John he ■■■ find ■■■ work in ■■■ old world ■■■ the new." Nevertheless he succeeded in extracting concessions from the Emperor. ■■■ work, as defined by his instructions, ■■■ according to ■■■ complaint by St. John to another diplomatist, only half done, when with his customary impetuosity he quitted Vienna for Turin. ■■■ coloured the ■■■ ■■■ Emperor had empowered him to make to the Duke ■■■ Savoy ■■■ brightly than seems to have been justified by his commission, though Marlborough considered ■■■ had "a very good effect at this juncture." At any rate he induced the Duke to agree to lead his troops ■■■ Rhone. ■■■ ■■■ of the Emperor Joseph

by smallpox on April 17th, 1711, opened a wider field for his love of combinations. Charles, it was anticipated, would succeed to his brother's Imperial Crown. Peterborough appears to have consequently resumed his old plan, and to have taken such steps, without any orders from the Government, towards an engagement to transfer the Spanish throne to the Duke of Savoy. As a preliminary he projected an immediate return of Charles to Germany. Marlborough opposed an abrupt removal from Spain likely to be calamitous for military prospects there. Peterborough, however, kept his own view, which he stated in a letter of twenty sheets to Secretary St. John. In it, St. John told Lord Raby, the whole world was parcelled out, as if with his fiat and the breath of his mouth could be accomplished. He hurried to Genoa, to discuss ways and means with the Duke of Argyle, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in Spain. His original intention, which was thwarted by lack of encouragement from Argyle, had been to continue his journey to Barcelona, whence he purposed to escort Charles homewards. As an alternative he intercepted the King at Milan, and was able to assure him that the rumours of the intention of England to make separate terms with France were unfounded. At Vienna despatches in reproof of his compromising engagements overtook him, and after a halt of three days he started, without having been officially recalled, for England to explain and maintain. He landed at Yarmouth on June 23rd, attended by a single servant, boasting that he had seen more kings and more postilions than any one else in Europe. In this last journey he had, he told Swift,



scattered the rest of his suite in several towns in Germany. "He sent," says Swift, "expresses, and got here before them. He was over fifty, and as active as a man of twenty-five." From the Queen, of whom, on the morrow of his disembarkation, he obtained an audience to give an account of his mission, he met with a gracious reception, but her ministers could not conceal their dissatisfaction. In his head, wrote St. John to Marlborough, sure of sympathy on this subject, was extremely hot, and was fused with various indigested schemes. His projects were vast, and supposed nothing less than the restoration of all the troops which belonged to the Spanish war to their established number of fifty-two thousand men, besides taking five thousand Swiss and eight thousand Imperialists into the Queen's pay. Marlborough would know, said St. John, how little able England was to enter into such an increase of charge, and would therefore easily believe that these papers were already grown dusty on the office shelves. Swift, who appreciated Peterborough's capacity much more justly than St. John, described to a correspondent in July his discontent with the general disposition towards peace, and the waste, therefore, of the skill with which he had persuaded the Emperor and Duke of Savoy to continue operations. "A person of great talents, but dashed with something restless and capricious," comments Swift, "and a sort of person which may give good advice which wise men may reasonably refuse to follow." There was his character, and the moral of the whole.

He was a troublesome colleague. Harley and St. John would not have been inconsolable had a carriage accident he experienced during his visit to England pro-

duced yet ~~more~~ effects than some alarming internal complications. But he could be ~~a~~ ~~more~~ inconvenient antagonist. So he ~~was~~ gazetted Ambassador-Extraordinary to the Diet about to assemble ~~at~~ Frankfort for ~~the~~ election of the Emperor Joseph's successor.\* A Diet always ~~was~~ ~~a~~ nest of intrigues, and Peterborough did not hold aloof from them. Notwithstanding ~~a~~ severe and nearly ~~fatal~~ illness ~~at~~ Frankfort connected with the hurt which he had given no time to heal, he ~~was~~ reported to have employed himself upon large projects. In default of male heirs to Charles he is said to have suggested that the King of Saxony might be elected King of the Romans. ~~His~~ view, ~~as~~ he had expressed it to Swift, whom he half in earnest invited to ~~come~~ out as his chaplain and secretary in order to qualify for ~~a~~ bishopric, ~~that~~ that, with proper support from home, he could act the Roman senator, and have a levee of suppliant kings expecting their destinies from England. Such visions whispered at Frankfort must have equally disturbed the German and the English Government. They certainly alarmed the councillors of Charles. Gallas, Swift says in his history of the Queen's last four years, sent an Italian clerk to Frankfort, with instructions to pretend to be ~~a~~ Spaniard, and to insinuate himself into the secrets of the ambassador's household. Practically Peterborough had, he felt, ~~some~~ influence ~~on~~ the Diet. He must have rejoiced when ~~a~~ rule, which forbade the presence of strangers at an Imperial installation, constrained him to leave the town ~~on~~ the eve of the Emperor Charles ~~the~~ Sixth's coronation ~~on~~ December 22nd, 1711. He used his leisure to visit Prince Eugene's headquarters ~~at~~ Spire. Then, after a brief return ~~to~~ offer the Queen's congratu-

lations ■ his old acquaintance, the ■ Emperor, he proceeded to Italy. Contemporaries amused themselves with fancies that his true business there ■ a love mission. But it would rather seem that the ingenuity of his ministerial friends, eager simply to occupy him, had ■ them upon engaging their Sovereign to devise for him ■ hunt after a mare's nest. The Electoral Prince ■ Saxony ■ about to visit Rome. There had been ■ of the new Emperor's willingness to affiance the young archduchess to him, but his Protestantism ■ an obstacle. Queen Anne had been privately informed that efforts would be made to induce the Prince to turn Catholic at Rome. She wrote herself to Peterborough asking him to insinuate himself in Italy into the Prince's good opinion and induce him to preserve his faith. ■ the Prince's freedom of action ■ threatened he should try to secure his safe withdrawal from the Papal dominions. Such, the letter proceeded, ■ the nature of this service that the Queen could neither enjoin him to correspond with either of the Secretaries of State nor limit the time of his return. The good Queen doubtless wrote in all sincerity ; but it is difficult not to suspect ■ plot by St. John, in which he had made his mistress, with her affection for the Protestant Church, an innocent accomplice, for giving Peterborough confidential employment without confidence. ■ was shrewd enough not to be thus deluded, and St. John, discovering it, disclosed his knowledge of the royal project, with which he intimated he had ■ sympathy. It was, he wrote, ■ mission which, he perceived, Peterborough did not much relish. ■ tried ■ soothe ■ vanity by expressions of implicit ■ and frankness.

Peterborough preserved to a laudable extent ■ appear-  
■ of good humour, and treated the Secretary as the  
friend he said he ■■. When he was leaving England in  
February he had sent him twelve dozen flasks of Burgundy,  
■ for Swift, which Swift ■■ received, St. John ■  
fessing he ■■ ■■ quiet ■■ the whole twelve dozen  
were drunk. ■■ also lent him his house ■ Parson's  
Green while he ■■ away ■ Frankfort. Thither St.  
John, by his ■■ account to Peterborough, often came,  
to indulge himself in all those pleasures which shady  
walks and cool retreats inspire. Nothing ■■ wanting,  
he exclaimed, but the master to make him willing to  
continue there for ever. Swift dined ■ Parson's Green  
with him, and fell in love with the finest fruit garden  
ever, he wrote, ■■ about this town. If pretty speeches  
concerning himself and ■■ orchards from ministers and  
their associates could have satisfied Peterborough for the  
absence of serious employment, he ■■ welcome to ■  
many and ■■ fervid ■■ any one could desire. But he was  
not their dupe, and cherished deep resentment for the  
want of faith in him. In his poor state of health, how-  
ever, he ■■ glad to be free to go to Italy, whither the  
Queen, it had been reported in London in October, 1711,  
was sending him for the sake of the climate. ■■ could  
divert himself with the Carnival of Venice, to which,  
according to London gossip, he ■■ bending his steps  
towards the end of January, 1712; and possibly he was  
already in love with Anastasia Robinson, who ■■ then  
living with her family ■ Venica. Not till December,  
1712, did he resolve to come home and force his Govern-  
ment to ■■ explanation. He is said by Swift to have been  
accompanied by ■ lady, of whom no other particulars

are given; ■ Anastasia ■ her relatives returned ■ England about this time scandal may, ■ frequently, have misinterpreted the character of his company. The instant of his arrival in London, ■ January 10th, 1713, he stepped ■ from his house in Bolton Street to Harley in Dover Street. Harley, ■ Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, ■ entertaining St. John, who had been created Viscount Bolingbroke, and the rest of the Brothers at their weekly Saturday dinner. On the announcement that Peterborough was at the door "the Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke," wrote Swift the ■ night, "went out to meet him, and brought him in. As soon as he saw, he left the Duke of Ormond and other lords, and ■ and kissed ■ before he spoke to them, but chid me terribly for not writing to him. He left England with ■ bruise, by his coach overturning, and ■ so ill ■ expected every post to hear of his death; but he out-rode it, or outdrank it, or something, and is ■ home lustier than ever. "He is ■ least sixty, and has more spirits than any young man I know of in England."

He returned in ■ fit of impatience ■ the slowness of the ministers in finding him work, but he showed no desire ■ quarrel with them. Though his attendance in Parliament ■ interrupted in the early spring by illness, his attitude, when he was there, implied friendly neutrality. The Peace of Utrecht, which strongly contravened his prepossessions, he neither defended ■ attacked. ■ part in the debate on the allusions in the Queen's speech in April to ■ negotiations ■ confined chiefly to ■ refutation of some criticisms on himself by Halifax, and to an insinuation of the private and pecuniary interest of Marlborough in the continuance of ■

On ■ only other two occasions ■ which he spoke his attitude ■ that of ■ good Whig. In May he opposed a repeal of the union with Scotland, a marriage, he said, which, having been made, could not be broken, adding that the Scots would ■ be satisfied, though they ■ received ■ money from England than the value of all their estates in their own country put together. This ■ understood ■ aimed at Argyle, once a close ally, with whom he had quarrelled ■ the plan of operations in Spain; and Argyle replied in a speech described ■ ■ ■ On Whig principles, again, he supported Wharton's motion that the Queen should be asked to require of Lorraine and other foreign States with which she had diplomatic connections the refusal of ■ asylum to the Pretender. A Tory peer, Lord North and Grey, asked where, then, ■ the Prince to live? Peterborough ■ said to have answered, though the equivocal honour of the ill-natured sneer has been claimed for Halifax, that ■ the Pretender began his studies\* in Paris, the fittest place for him to improve himself ■ Rome. Socially, Oxford and Bolingbroke remained on excellent terms with him; ministerially, they fully admitted his claim upon the State, though they adjourned full satisfaction. Yet from time to time crumbs of patronage, by way of earnest, ■ thrown. In the spring he was appointed to the colonelcy of the Oxford Regiment of Horse, better known ■ the Royal Horse Guards Blue, then vacant by the death ■ Lord Rivers. In the first week of August he ■ elected and installed a Knight of the Garter in ■ ■ ■ with the Lord Treasurer. At last, in November, something in the nature of real work ■ assigned to him. ■ ■ ■ was nominated Ambassador-Extraordinary to

of Savoy, become, by the Treaty of Utrecht, King of Sicily, and to other Italian reigning princes. The mission not of the degree of importance; yet the Government not without fear in confiding it to him. He possessed in perfection the art of amplifying the dignity of in which he happened be engaged, and he had his peculiar of construing the least grant of discretionary powers. Bolingbroke addressed to Bromley, fellow-Secretary of State within whose province France lay, an emphatic entreaty to tie him down by instructions to the points he might meddle with in his passage through that kingdom, and no account he to be left at liberty to entertain the French ministers and himself with a variety of schemes. Bromley might well have tried to chain the wind. For himself, Bolingbroke added, he had avoided touching in his instructions upon the question of the Elector of Bavaria's demand of Sardinia, not knowing how far the pleasure of giving away kingdoms might transport his lordship.

The ambassador had not much opportunity of displaying either his diplomatic dexterity or his indocility, but his mission enabled him to employ a remarkable man. As chaplain and secretary he took on Swift's recommendation Berkeley, the metaphysician and future Irish bishop. At his entrance into public life he had loved and befriended John Locke; it is pleasant to think that he used the concluding stage of his official for the benefit of a still subtle, though less solid, thinker. It is an injustice to posterity to leave no record left of Peterborough's colloquies with either. With Berkeley for companion, at the end of November he started for Paris,

where, during a fortnight's stay, he probably did his best to embarrass Bromley and Prior. Thence, after an introduction by Torcy to King Lewis, he proceeded by Toulon to Italy. In the absence of his equipage, which was coming round by sea, he was obliged to defer his solemn entry into Palermo, but characteristically anticipated it by a preliminary excursion from Genoa to Leghorn to Sicily in a little Maltese brig, accompanied only by a couple of servants. After a conference with the King, which had momentous consequences, he returned to the mainland till, on the arrival of his ambassadorial paraphernalia, he embarked once more, and was received in state at Palermo. He wrote home an ample narrative of the rehearsal and of the incidental hardships and casualties, which proved all too real. Lord Oxford put it on to Prior that he might say what it all meant to. Prior, not unmindful, perhaps, of the Paris visit, epitomised the heroic pilgrimage for the Prime Minister's edification. "Lord Peterborough is gone from Genoa in an open boat—that's one; three hundred miles by sea—that's two; he was forced ashore twenty times by tempests and majorkeens to lie among the rocks—that's—how many, my Lord Treasurer?"

It was not much Peterborough's fault nor his misfortune that he constantly had to emphasise to inflate the business given him to perform. By the unkindness of fate a man endowed with faculties sufficient to have rearranged the globe was set tasks which often he would have been most beneficial to his countrymen if he would or could have slept. In sleep he would not and could not. He was of a type which natures so unlike as



Godolphin's and Bolingbroke's despised, and others so un-  
 ■■■ ■■ Pope's, Swift's, Johnson's, Scott's, and Macaulay's  
 found engaging and seductive. On the whole, ■ would  
 have been better, and especially for the Catalans, ■  
 he ■■■ captured Barcelona; it may even be, if  
 he had not relieved it. ■ conquest of the kingdom  
 of Valencia ■ like drawing water into a sieve. As  
 Ambassador-Extraordinary in Italy he pursued the ■■■  
 process of doing busily what might as well have been let  
 alone. He had the art of dictating to several ■■■■■■■■  
 ■ once, and he practised it ■ King Victor's Court. Pope  
 was assured by ■ eye-witness that he ■■■ walking  
 round ■■■ and instructing nine secretaries at once;  
 probably, ■ his friend suggested, half the letters were  
 trivialities; but the ambassador satisfied himself that he  
 ■■■ ■■■ of affairs in dreadful earnest. With Victor,  
 who ■■■ a consummate schemer, he doubtless drafted  
 and redrafted the map of Europe to their mutual satis-  
 faction. At any rate, the King presented him with a  
 gold watch in token of his gratitude for sympathy and  
 encouragement to his ambition. Nothing else ■■■ of  
 it, though perplexity to the Queen's Government might  
 in due time have arisen ■ there had remained ■ Queen's  
 Government to be perplexed. Such ■■■ the feverishness  
 of domestic politics in the few months for which Peter-  
 borough represented Great Britain ■ Palermo, that  
 nobody had leisure either to check ■ to be alarmed ■  
 ■■■ Sicilian proceedings or meditations. The one aim  
 was to pacify and neutralise all subordinate agitations  
 and agitators. Officially he was encouraged to believe  
 ■■ zeal ■■ approved, by ■■ words and by his appoint-  
 ment in March, 1714, ■ supersession of the Duke of

Argyle, ■■■ sinecure governorship of Minorca. With ■■■ diplomatic achievements authority ■■■ not trouble itself until Queen Anne ■■■ on August 1st. Then ■■■ Government of King George ■■■ little time in recalling the Whig aversion of the Whigs, and on this occasion ■■■ accepted ■■■ dismissal without any show of rebelliousness. But in the eyes of Europe he ■■■ still a great personage. On his way home by Paris Torcy entertained him ■■■ dinner. The King ordered the fountains at Marly to be set working in his honour, keeping him by his ■■■ ■■■ he walked, and treating him "avec beaucoup de distinction." Yet he ■■■ hardly surprised to find himself ■■■ fallen ■■■ in England. The day after his return he presented himself ■■■ Court; he was very coldly received, and ■■■ order ■■■ sent to him forbidding his reappearance.

## CHAPTER X

### CONSOLATIONS ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

PETERBOROUGH'S career has been treated as closed ■ the accession of George the First. There ■ ■ end of him officially, but only officially. He still remained ■ conspicuous figure in contemporary life, both public and private, environed with romantic legends and ■ source of delightful possibilities. Nobody knew exactly what he had done, and nobody could predict what he might not do. His kind is ■ in English history ; and working statesmen of successive eras, the Somerses and the Godolphins, ■ to be congratulated ■ its scarcity. For ■ reader of history the apparition ■ and then ■ a boon. Peterborough's eccentric personality ■ his ■ temporaries under an obligation still greater, ■ the curiosity with which they followed his gyrations testified. ■ kept their attention on the alert, and in multifarious directions, for twenty years after ■ Court and its ■ sellors had thought they ■ extinguished him.

He spoke in Parliament with vigour and independence. He resisted, ■ he supported the measures of Government on their merits alone. ■ was ■ more vehement opponent of the Septennial Bill, which he taxed ■ Whig ministers with having introduced in defiance ■

Whig principles. The measure was rested ■ the danger ■ frequent elections when ■ adversaries of the Protestant Succession ■ as active ■ the rebellion of 1715 indicated. Lord Islay, Argyle's brother, taunted the opposition with its desire to avenge itself, by hampering public business, for the signs of royal favour to those who had ventured their lives ■ the King's side against the Pretender. Peterborough had faced Islay before in the House. Now, with ■ scoff at the Scotchman's prudent ■ of his person, he remarked that men who do not fight for a ■ cannot die for it. He asked, moreover, what would be the position of the Scotch peers elected for a Triennial Parliament during the four years' extension? They would be, he craved pardon of the bishops for saying it, "neither made, ■ created but proceeding." For himself, his affection for the Sovereign did not depend on the accident whether he were ■ were not in the Crown's actual service. If he ■ against the Bill, it simply was\*that he could not vote for ■ remedy which might cause ■ evil. Fighting ■ the same side with Addison, he advocated, both with vote and pen, Stanhope's and Sunderland's Peerage Bill, which ■ introduced ■ March 5th and dropped ■ April 14th, 1719. Walpole, who headed the resistance of the dissident Whigs, had printed against the measure *Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House*; Peterborough replied with *Remarks on the Thoughts*. ■ argument was that the ■ wisely aimed at the curtailment of the royal prerogative of the creation of peers, in order to prevent the inundation of the Upper House by ■ lords for some temporary exigency. Whigs, he contended, ought to rejoice in any increase of

the independence of a branch of the Legislature. He ridiculed the fear that the change might enable the peers to toss the King and Commons in a blanket. The House of Lords, a small body mostly poor, representing nothing but themselves, had not enough inherent force to be formidable. It was a third estate only in imagination, a purgatory, added to heaven and hell, where the ultimate decrees of Providence were not altered but suspended and delayed. He denounced the accursed Papists in politics opponents who, perceiving the visible mistakes in judicious laws, yet refused to amend them. Towards the end of George the First's reign he assailed, with vehemence as he had defended the Peerage Bill, an endeavour by a clerical peer, Lord Willoughby de Broke, to banish immorality and dissent by penalties for disrespectful observations on the Thirty-Nine Articles. Although he was for a Parliamentary King, he had, he said, no desire for a Parliamentary God, or a Parliamentary religion. If the House declared for such an one, he should go to Rome and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal, for he would rather sit in the conclave than with their lordships on such terms. On March 29th, 1724, he spoke in favour of the bill for the deprivation and banishment of Atterbury, the friend of many of his friends, Dr. John Freind among them, whom, however, he disliked as a Jacobite, and perhaps, too, as a bishop. Once more, in June, 1727, he lifted up his voice for the defence of Hanover. Let our circumstances be what they may, he ought, he argued, to exert ourselves for the honour and dignity of the crown, and defend the just rights of the nation. Though no subsequent speech by him in Parliament is chronicled, he did not cease to attend, and

name is found in the list ■ peers present at debates as late as May, 1731.

Politics had their turn in his life, and only their turn. Now and again he amused ■ with travel. In the autumn of 1717 he went for his health to Italy, where, according to his wont, he met with a remarkable adventure. The Pretender then resided ■ Urbano, ■ Bologna in the Papal States. Information had reached Pope Clement the Eleventh of a Protestant plot against the exile's life, and vigilance on his behalf had been strictly enjoined on the Cardinal Legate who governed the Romagna. Either chance or private malevolence directed to Peterborough, on his arrival at or near Bologna, the suspicion of two Irish Papal officers. They arrested him. ■ interrogated, his papers were seized, and he ■ shut up in Fort Urbano. It was a proper though irregular chastisement for his speech of 1713. He had to establish his identity, and his rage did not expedite matters. Nearly a month elapsed before he was freed from restraint. By that time he had forgotten that he was ■ invalid, and hastened home, burning for revenge. He clamoured with pen and voice for amends; and when he, whom the Duc de St. Simon describes ■ being, whether "bien ■ mal ■ le gouvernement," always "craint et ménagé," had a real grievance it ■ not to be disregarded. Stanhope was in power, and though the old friendship had long been broken, took up his ■ Satisfaction was demanded. When the Pontifical Government demurred, the Mediterranean fleet ■ ordered to Civita Vecchia. Then the Pope gave way. He sought the mediation of a friendly State, with a confession that the Cardinal Legate had acted violently and unjustly. The legate ■ instructed

■ pray through the admiral King George's forgiveness for having inconsiderately arrested a peer of ■■■ Britain while travelling, ■■■ Great Britain and Peterborough graciously accepted the apology.

The accident did not prejudice Peterborough against foreign travel. ■■■ again abroad for ■■■ time in 1719, and took part in an important political event. The ambition of Philip the Fifth and the ability of ■■■ minister, Cardinal Alberoni, threatened alike ■■■ Austrian dominions in Italy and the Orleans Regency. Though Byng's great naval victory had frustrated the Spanish designs upon Sicily the cardinal was not at the end of his ■■■ In 1718 Peterborough had been supposed to be concerting some combination with respect to Spanish affairs with the Prince de Cellamare. In 1719, uninvited by Stanhope in England ■■■ by Dubois in France, he availed ■■■ of ■■■ acquaintance with the Duke of Parma, the Queen of Spain's uncle, to procure the downfall of Alberoni. Travelling to Novi in Piedmont he ■■■ an agent of the Duke's and succeeded in convincing him that Alberoni's continuance in office was equally mischievous to Spain and Italy. ■■■ informed Stanhope and Dubois in November of ■■■ he had done, in his letter to Stanhope inveighing against the Emperor Charles's ingratitude for ■■■ Spanish services. The English and French ministers do not ■■■ ■■■ have been much ■■■ grateful for the very considerable benefit he had ■■■ conferred in ridding Europe of Alberoni's schemes. Stanhope had been lately discoursing ■■■ Dubois on Peterborough's indiscretions, and Dubois had rejoined with predictions ■■■ he could do little good ■■■ might do much harm. They ■■■ not change their

when Alberoni was in exile. When the year Earl once more was in France his presence was still unwelcome to Dubois, who wrote to Luke Schaub accusing him of a pernicious habit of depreciating to Frenchmen the value of England, to the injury of the Anglo-French alliance. Four or five years later he made a yet longer sojourn on the Continent. He passed the larger part of the two years 1725-27 abroad, wandering from place to place. "He can go," said Pope, "to any climate, but he cannot stay in any." No records of his eccentricities as he went hither and thither have been preserved; but it may be doubted if silence imply discretion; such blank spaces in his biography are not rare. His tumultuous nature required occasional respites from the social Babel of London, as French ladies of the Regency used to go into retreat.

Society had no right to be surprised that he deserted it in 1725. By this time he had a second and young wife. He left her deliberately as he had left the first, and with less regard for public duties. Since his loss of official employment, and perhaps from the conclusion of his mission to Frankfort, he had been paying assiduous court to the famous singer, Anastasia Robinson. Her father, Thomas Robinson, was a portrait painter, of a good Leicestershire family, who had settled in Italy to study his art. His wife died, leaving him one only child Anastasia, and he then married a Roman Catholic widow named Lane, by whom he had another daughter. Both children were brought up Catholics, and received a musical training. After a long residence abroad the family returned to England about the year of 1713, by which time he had been



determined that Anastasia should adopt music as a profession. Her father, himself an accomplished musical amateur, had been forced by a disorder in the eyes which ended in blindness, to abandon portraiture. At first she confined herself to concerts at York Buildings, where she accompanied herself on the harpsichord. Her first appearance on the stage was on January 27th, 1714, in the opera of *Creso*. After her second appearance, as Ismina in *Arminio*, on March 4th, her position as prima donna was secured. Mrs. Delany had a long intimacy with her. As early as July, 1722, describing a water party, she regrets the absence of "Mrs. Robinson" from the entertainment, which "otherwise had been complete." Sixty-five years later she dictated some reminiscences of her charming friend to Dr. Burney, who printed them in his *History of Music*. According to her Anastasia possessed not beauty but elegance in figure and a winning softness of expression heightened by large blue eyes. She had good sense, amiability, and delicate sentiments, and her mind, without brilliancy of wit, was well balanced and cultivated. She spoke Italian with ease, and was versed in Italian literature. Kindly and modest, a devout though tolerant Catholic, the publicity of the stage and the importunities of gallants were hateful to her.

Her salary at the King's Theatre was £1000 for the season, and she derived about as much more from benefits and presents. Such an income was for those days, very large. Her father was enabled to hire a house in Golden Square, where Bolingbroke had lived while Secretary of State, and to hold weekly musical assemblies there. Anastasia had many wooers, and

among them Peterborough, whose respectful courtesy, humour, and celebrity delighted her. Unlike some, he ■■■■ offended her by hinting ■■■■ other relations, though for long he could not prevail on himself to marry ■■■■ public singer. Finally conquered, the tradition runs, by her ■■■■ Griselda in Buononcini's opera, he offered his hand in the spring of 1722. She accepted it, ■■■■ the almost perfect Griselda she was, with his condition that their marriage should not be divulged ■■■■ it ■■■■ ■■■■ more convenient time for him to make it known. The sole witness to the wedding is stated to have been the wife of Lord Harley, afterwards Countess of Oxford, the daughter-in-law of the ex-Lord Treasurer. The motives for the mystery can only be conjectured. Lord Halifax is said, though Sir David Brewster doubts it, to have married, and concealed his marriage with, Catherine Barton, the niece of Newton, in circumstances somewhat similar. Peterborough may have feared ridicule for the disparity of rank; of the disparity of ■■■■ he would hardly be conscious. His principal ■■■■ for the concealment of the true nature of his ■■■■ tie, though after the experience of his former union he need scarcely have been afraid of the restraints of recognised wedded life, is ■■■■ likely to have been a desire to retain the full liberty of ■■■■ bachelor. There ■■■■ a fashion of treating marriage as ■■■■ counsel of despair, according to Peterborough's ■■■■ threat, in ■■■■ letter from Hanover in 1711, that, if the political prospect went ■■■■ darkening, ■■■■ should marry in ■■■■ rage and become the hero of the October club. For ■■■■ year or more the lady even continued on the stage. In 1723 the opera company ■■■■ performing ■■■■ ■■■■ during the

season, when the Italian singer, Senesino, a public favourite from 1721 to 1735, insulted her at a morning rehearsal. She appealed to Peterborough, who was her hand. Boiling with rage at the affront to his unacknowledged wife he publicly caned the offender, who understood his station too well to struggle with a lord, and was compelled to beg Anastasia's pardon on his knees. Senesino never had too much courage, it is recorded that a piece of machinery having tumbled upon the stage in this year, he happened to be boasting, in the character of Julius Cæsar, that he knew what fear was, he lost his voice from the fright and fell to crying. The present affair became the town talk, and Philip Stanhope, afterwards better known as Earl of Chesterfield, being reported to have jested on Peterborough as an old Don Quixote, received forthwith a challenge. A duel was averted by the arrest of both, who were bound over to keep the peace. To guiltless Anastasia the consequences were more serious. Scurrilous tongues were loosened. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who possessed herself of the most merciless, wrote to her sister, Lady Mar: "Would any man believe that Robinson is at the same time a prude and a kept mistress?" The innuendoes were wholly false; but they were not on that account less eagerly circulated, or less cruelly painful to their subject. Her operatic supremacy seems to have been already threatened by the arrival in England of the Italian Cuzzoni, and the affair with Senesino decided her. She quitted the stage. Shortly afterwards her father, for whose sake she had persisted in following her profession, died, and her half-sister, Margaret, who, with yet finer musical gifts and a yet

more unconquerable shyness, had been also trained for a professional singer by Buononcini, married a brother of Dr. Arbuthnot. Mrs. Robinson and Anastasia now moved to Fulham to be Peterborough, but unless Sir John Hawkins, whose statement is opposed the better information of Dr. Burney, be right, they inmates of the mansion at Parson's Green. They resided in a house of their own, with a son of Mrs. Robinson by her previous marriage, Mr. Lane, a Catholic priest, their chaplain. Anastasia frequented Peterborough House, but rather a guest than its mistress. Her husband permitted her to hold there her musical parties,—her musical academy, according to the expression of Sir John Hawkins,—at which she was assisted by Buononcini, Martini, Tosi, and Greene. Only for the Earl's very intimate friends was she his wife. For the world he absolutely disengaged that obligations to her seem to have occurred either Mrs. Howard to him, as lending additional zest calling for an apology in the extraordinary correspondence between him and that lady.

He had diversified his and open trial of wedded life with frequent and violent amours, unless, is quite possible, he be grievously calumniated by himself. He lieved his second and morganatic marriage with a genteel gallant comedy, which lasted for years, was scarcely interrupted by the distractions of foreign travel—one elaborate epistle from Amsterdam—and indisputably and solemnly decorous to the end. The precise date of the commencement of correspondence is unknown. In the August of 1723 Mrs. Howard

Gay to ask his assistance in corresponding with "a man of wit," of whom she owned [redacted] afraid. She enclosed a letter she had received. At the same time she intimated a wish that Gay would conceal his help, as her friend might be 'wrathful [redacted] he learnt it. Perhaps Peterborough suspected. [redacted] may have hinted his knowledge with [redacted] irony in his eulogy upon a fair lady who makes [redacted] of her [redacted] admirable understanding, not ladylike giving up her [redacted] and poorly submitting her judgment to those guides who commonly manage their pretensions with as much self-interest and as little honesty as South Sea directors. How far Gay really helped cannot be traced. Of Mrs. Howard's letters rough draughts in her hand are extant; nothing in the hand of Gay has been found. Thackeray, who for effect adds several years to Peterborough's real [redacted] when he speaks of him [redacted] an indomitable youth of seventy, has characterised the courtship [redacted] a combination of bows, vows, sighs, and ogles, etiquette and raptures. It [redacted] also interspersed with verses. Peterborough's father had versified sixty years before; and Pepys, no bad judge, remarked of lines by him,—“Lord! they are sorry things; only, a lord made them.” Peterborough had tried, without much [redacted] success, if the Muse de Cavalier, attributed also to Lord Cutts, and Verses [redacted] the Duchess of Marlborough, addressed to Mr. Harley after his removal from Court, be his. A poem in his correspondence with Mrs. Howard panegyricising the

“Wonderful creature! a [redacted] of reason!

Never grave out of pride, never gay out of season,”

stands on a different level. Thackeray extols it for [redacted]

truth ■ well as grace. ■ ■ ■ facility and vigour which entitle it to a better fate than to be described, in anthologies ■ ■ Song by a Person of Quality.

The prose in the correspondence ■ ■ ■ supportable. The present ■ ■ has lost the faculty of taking interest in the contrasts of beauteous female rakes with the Amorets capable of inspiring "a true respectful tenderness, and ■ kind of awe, which has the effect of opium in moderating passion;" of Englishwomen, whom ■ declaration offends, with Spanish ■ ■ who, "from the queen down to the maid of honour, all accept of ■ profession of love with ■ decent gratitude, ■ ■ ■ pretending to ■ ■ or reprove, but refusing with thanks;" and of "fair devils" who haunt and torment the lover wherever he goes, with the ugly whom, ■ Peterborough with perfect honesty ■ ■ ■ his representative of the beauteous type, he ■ ■ easily forget. But critics of the forty voluminous letters have no business ■ ■ declaim against them for their tediousness. They ■ ■ not invited to read them. Peterborough, though very possibly he did not expect to be obeyed, had emphatically cautioned Mrs. Howard not to show them, and she had promised to observe the injunction sacredly. ■ ■ had his own motive for worrying his fancy during all these years; he ■ ■ keeping his hand in. Lord Macaulay would in his declining ■ ■ ■ his memory tremendous ■ ■ to ■ ■ himself that ■ kept ■ tenacity. Peterborough by ■ ■ analogous instinct desired at sixty ■ ■ seventy to ascertain that he had not lost his amatory cunning. He wished ■ prove to himself, much ■ ■ than to Mrs. Howard,—whose duty, whether to her husband ■ to her royal lover,

if she ever had a royal lover, he thought undermining,—that he as irresistible in days when he entered Valencia in triumph languishing beauties. was pleased to think him dangerous that he to plot for a moment's audience with a lady he affected to love, and possessed of feelings as ardent to "tremble when I approach your door." It answered Mrs. Howard's purpose thirty-nine to be the mark he aimed at. Her vanity was gratified, as demonstrated by preservation of the correspondence she had intimated she would suppress: her wife not too severely taxed, with Gay to prompt her effusions; and she felt entirely in the uninflamnable temper of her own heart. Probably she was able to borrow for in Leicester Square and at Kew from "the experiences of one not wholly ignorant of nature," who had studied it among the dames of Paris, readier to share bottles of champagne than hearts, who had explored its varieties in idle engagements at Venice and among the complaisant damsels of Valencia and Catalonia, and of whose manifold errant loves she heard the confessions with a pleased rather incredulous horror. Of the intrinsic literary merits of the correspondence is hard to judge dispassionately, chiefly because it is impossible for to endure discussions on love in which there is heart. To this all without distinction the silliest superannuated philandering. From the modern point of view it is as much a waste of energy to censure one letter as wearisome, a second as dull, a third or a thirtieth as both dull and profane, and as not very creditable, as to damn with

faint praise one ■ long-winded but half satirical and amusing, and another as ■ least stupid of the series. For the latter end of the nineteenth century there ■ be ■ real difference of degrees in tediousness between Peterborough's profound bows and the lady's responsive curtsies, in ■ of which civil commentators have detected ■ playful discreetness and ■ brilliancy. In Peterborough's elderly days dissertations ■ love ■ the ■ material of polite conversation. They ■ nothing to do with real love, whether refined or gross, any ■ than scholastic theology in its later stages had to do with the art of life and death. The fine gentleman learnt the system ■ he learnt in boyhood to write Latin ■ at Westminster, ■ a youth to ■ with Aldrichian logic at Oxford, as a courtier to thrust and parry at the fencing-school. It ■ ■ accomplishment like the rest. A gentleman and lady of quality could not ■ for half an hour in a drawing-room without falling to amœbean coquetry, hammer and tongs. For their contemporaries, Peterborough's and Ohloe Howard's

"Wit, ■ genteel, without art, without care,"

■ have been a model of delicate vivacity. Doubtless, without prejudice to the heroine's sacred observation of ■ lordship's equally sincere caution of concealment, ■ provoked the periodical admiration, envy, and jealousy of whole parlourful of dames and cavaliers.

Peterborough, who at sixty-five ■ at least as juvenile as Mrs. Howard at thirty-nine, did not choose to let an accident like his threescore years forbid him the pleasure



of the exercise of his mental gymnastics. ■ it pleased him to forget his age, it is very officious of strangers ■ posterity ■ insist upon remembering ■ in and out of season. In general he loved to vanquish obstacles, age included. He loved to be talked of, and he loved ■ diversity of experiences and objects. He mocked ■ social laws, and ■ ■ ■ eager to have society on his side. When it ■ considered how largely he ■ ■ ■ permitted to indulge ■ caprices, it is surprising he ■ ■ ■ not ■ ■ ■ unbearable and insolent than he ■ ■ ■ to have been. Many of the stories told of him are probably fables. We ■ ■ ■ not, for example, obliged to believe the monstrous narrative of ■ quarrel between him and Voltaire, which ■ ■ ■ first printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1797. Voltaire admired the famous Earl, whom, ■ quarter of a century after the date of the imaginary occurrence, he compares with the paladins of romance, in his *Siècle ■ Louis XIV.* He lauds his heroism and his generosity, and had experienced the latter quality during ■ long visit, about 1728, ■ Parson's Green. At the time the Earl, according to this foolish story, had engaged him to write some work, vaguely described as important, and understood that all had been arranged by him for its publication. He supplied funds from time to time to defray the cost of printing. The publisher received from Voltaire an instalment of £10, and part of the work ■ ■ ■ put in type ; but when the latter tried ■ induce the ■ ■ ■ to proceed by the assurance that Peterborough refused any further payment till the whole was printed, the suspicious or impecunious publisher stopped the press. Finally, arriving ■ Parson's Green after dinner, he saw in the garden Peterborough, who learnt how both ■ ■ ■ been

defrauded. At the instant of the disclosure Voltaire appeared ■ the end of ■ long ■■■■■. In a fit of boiling ■■■ Peterborough drew upon him, and would have run him through had not he fled and hidden himself in the village. Next day he hurried to London, and thence, leaving behind him hat, portmanteau, and papers, he almost immediately returned to the Continent. The whole tale clearly is an invention designed to establish the necessary connection between the scepticism of "odious devils" like Voltaire and knavery in business. The sole fragment of truth in it is the circumstance that Voltaire, at ■ period when he ■■■ in poor circumstances, ■■■ befriended by Peterborough.

The story of the persecution of the dancing-master or actor is scarcely ■■■ credible. Everybody has heard how Peterborough, ■ he was driving along the Strand on ■ wet day, ■■■ ■ actor or, ■ ■■■ version of the story has it, ■ dancing-master, picking his way in gay dress and pearl-coloured ■■■ stockings through the deep mud. In ■ freak of mad malicious humour out he dashed, sword in hand, ■ the frightened pedestrian, whose flight he directed among the miriest puddles. When he was tired of the chase he quietly returned to his chariot and resumed his course as if nothing had happened. If the tale were not merely invented as ■ pendant to the Senesino anecdote its date ■ much more likely to have been the reign of Charles the Second than ■ George the First; but ■■■ popular license for extravagant behaviour to which ■ points had accompanied Peterborough throughout ■■■■■. ■■ used it ■ the utmost in age ■ in youth. He who had once been ■■■ finest of ■■■ gentlemen, disdaining the edicts of

fashion, ■■■ boots in the Pump room, to the amusement rather than the anger of Bath. He would go his ■■■ marketing. Lady Harvey, ■■■ "sweet Molly Lepel," wrote to Mrs. Howard from Bath in June, 1725: "Lord Peterborough has been here some time, though by ■■■ dress ■■■ would believe he had not designed to make any stay, for he ■■■ boots all day, and, ■■■ I hear, ■■■ do so, having brought ■■■ shoes with him. It ■■■ comical sight to ■■■ him with his blue ribbon and star and ■■ cabbage under each arm, ■■■ chicken in his hand, which, after he himself has purchased at market, he carries home for his dinner." At Peterborough House he ■■■ went, according to Sir John Hawkins and other authorities, to preside in the kitchen ■■ well ■■ act the host. He had learnt the ■■■ ■■ in Spain, where he used to say he had often wanted for food, and oftener for a cook to dress it. An hour before dinner he would quit his guests for the kitchen, slip ■■■ ■■ tavern cook's dress, and ■■ the dishes were being brought in ■■■ his proper place. The foundation of the Beefsteak Club ■■ attributed to this propensity of his to escape from the trammels of his station. ■■ hearty enjoyment of a steak cooked on ■■ gridiron for the dinner of George Lambert, the landscape and scene-painter, as he went on with his work in the painting-room of Covent Garden Theatre, ■■ alleged to have suggested its establishment. As, however, the theatre was not built till 1732, he ■■■ hardly have been ■■ ■■■ frequenter, apart from the troublesome circumstance that Lambert was not appointed scene-painter to the theatre ■■ 1736, when Peterborough ■■ been dead ■■ year.

His ■■■ ■■■ to court and affront public opinion.

Swift quotes ■ imagines a set of characters of ■ conspicuous courtiers of Queen Anne, drawn in conformity with popular report, that from behind the shield of the anonymous scribe ■ may less invidiously shoot ■ sharp comments. In the group is "a sketch of Peterborough, for which he vouches ■ for the most part true: "He affects popularity; loves to preach in coffee-houses and public places, and is an open enemy of revealed religion; is brave in his person, has ■ good estate, and does not ■ expensive, yet ■ always in debt and very poor." The "well-shaped thin man, with ■ very brisk look," was seen everywhere. Now he ■ fitting about the Continent. Then he ■ in Norfolk, contrasting the prodigies of Houghton with his cottage which had put the public to ■ expense. At another time he was visiting Lord Cobham and admiring his stately Sacharissa, ■ he denominates the palace and gardens of Stowe. ■ had listened to Penn preaching Quakerism, for it was his habit, he said, to be polite to all religions, though he did not wish to believe in the dogmas of ■ The impression produced upon him by a visit to Fénelon ■ Cambrai had a little agitated ■ indifference; and he wrote to Locke that he feared, if he stayed longer in so pious ■ atmosphere, he might grow pious too. ■ exchanged theological doubts with Voltaire, but was courteous to the Church of England in deference to the Dean of St. Patrick's. ■ knew that George the First did not understand, and ■ not admire, his bird-witted character, but he paid his homage periodically ■ the palace. Any cold- ■ with which he was received ■ compensated ■ rival ■ of the Prince of Wales in Leicester House.

There he was so familiar that he could speak of hours of conversation with the Princess, and of discretionary access to her private apartment. On the Prince's accession as George the Second he remained a favourite. His influence, such as it was, would scarcely be affected injuriously by the King's reconciliation with Walpole, for he and Walpole had fallen into a habit of some degree of intimacy. When passing part of the spring and summer of 1726 in London, Peterborough was able, as a personal friend, to arrange for an interview, on April 27th, between him and the minister on the grievances of Irishmen, or rather of the English colony in Ireland. Swift drew up next morning an account of the conversation in the shape of a letter to Peterborough, to be given by him to Walpole. Apparently in the summer of the summer a second conference, to little effect, was held between Swift and Walpole, again through Peterborough's mediation. When the Dean came over in 1727, at the commencement of the new reign, Peterborough again intervened to bring him and Walpole together. Peterborough indeed had long patched up a decorous semblance of amity with the Whig junto, though he had returned to its ranks. For instance, the Government was in May, 1722, willing to grant him, and he was willing to accept from it, promotion from the rank he had attained in 1707 of General of Marines, to that of General of the Marine Forces of Great Britain, and the commission was renewed on the accession of George the Second. He had been left undisturbed in his command of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, conferred upon him by Queen Anne. In both characters of general and colonel he performed

duties as a servant of the new dynasty loyally and scrupulously. Letters are preserved which show, how carefully he attended to points of regimental discipline.

The [redacted] [redacted] probably lucrative, but they did not [redacted] him above financial worries. Throughout his [redacted] he was, as Swift intimates, constantly involved in debt. [redacted] was in difficulties after the Fenwick incident cost him his places. By his own account he added to them by supplying the [redacted] of [redacted] troops in Spain out of his own [redacted]; and Marlborough believed he [redacted] very ill [redacted] when he quitted Spain. He could [redacted] nothing out of the allowances for the embassies to which Oxford and Bolingbroke appointed him. King George's Treasury kept him waiting for sums due on their account. [redacted] contingent charges, £700, were not paid before August, 1715, and £1579, for extraordinary disbursements and table money, not [redacted] July, 1717. Probably he had long previously anticipated the receipt of these arrears. He was a bad manager of his private means, and could be pillaged with impunity. Though the allusion [redacted] not to be accepted [redacted] literally historical, there [redacted] have been a foundation for Swift's ironical advice to stewards to imitate Lord Peterborough's, who pulled down his master's house, sold the materials, and then charged him with the repairs. His chief share in the great Mordaunt inheritance, when his uncle's death left him head of the family, [redacted] a burdensome litigation. His uncle devised the Northamptonshire property of Drayton and [redacted] else at [redacted] disposal to his only child, Mary, Duchess of Norfolk. In 1700, after Peterborough's imprisonment, the Duke had obtained a divorce without opposition from him. In 1701 the Duke died,

and Lady Mary, since her father's death Beauchamp and Mordaunt, was married to Sir John Germaine. During her Peterborough sued for family estates. Only a fragment, with an income much less, it may be presumed, than the £4000 a year at which Luttrell puts it, had descended him with the earldom. A jury in the Queen's Bench brought in a verdict in November, 1702, adverse to his main claim, though it admitted his right to lay impropriations. He appealed, and his cousin's title affirmed by the House of Lords in 1703. She died in November, 1705, and Peterborough became fourteenth Baron Beauchamp and eighth Baron Mordaunt. His invariable belief that all the lands of Drayton, valued £70,000, should have come to him heir-at-law. He devised them to her husband, Sir John, a debauched gambler. So ignorant and devoid of taste he that, according to Lady Suffolk, when he erecting a colonnade he originally had the pillars placed upside down in the belief that the capitals pedestals. It was the irritating that the ancestral home of the Mordaunts, described by Horace Walpole at intervals of twenty years as a venerable heap of ugliness with many curious bits, and as the most grotesquely charming mansion in England, should have been thrown away such a creature. With renewed energy Peterborough resumed proceedings. The House of Lords again decided against him on February 24th, 1710. Shifting attack part of the property which had not been touched by this action, he continued his useless contest, and only John's death in 1718. He declared that Germaine

left the [redacted] to [redacted] second wife, Lady Betty, daughter of the Earl of Berkeley, he would abandon the struggle. The event [redacted] to pass. As Lady Betty, Horace Walpole's "divine old mistress of the dear old place," wrote to Swift, "he kept his word [redacted] honourable man."

Peterborough's favourite residence in his later years [redacted] a house [redacted] Southampton [redacted] the mound called Bevis [redacted] Bevois Mount, [redacted] Mount Bevis, which the legend says Sir Bevis threw up to stop the Danes from crossing the Itchen. It was, [redacted] he describes it, [redacted] wild romantic cottage overlooking Itchen Ferry. He hired it [redacted] lease at £14 [redacted] year. Though the house was pulled down [redacted] seventy years ago, the grounds, till the speculative builder lately pounced upon them and turned the spot into Bevois Town, preserved considerable natural charms. They [redacted] at their best at high water, when the tide forms a bay at the foot of the mound. So proud [redacted] Peterborough of the effect that he would not suffer strangers to look [redacted] the pretty wilderness he had adorned with shrubs and trees unless the river [redacted] at its height. He adorned his "Blenheim" by hanging over the garden gates, as Pope has sung, old flags and guns, which, he boasted, [redacted] his only Spanish spoils. Both there and at Parson's Green he gathered round him friends and admirers. [redacted] had lost many, and some he only remembered, [redacted] was remembered by, to the increase of reciprocal ill-will. There [redacted] Duchess Sarah, with whom, as perhaps with her husband also, he had preserved [redacted] semblance [redacted] familiarity, though he had sneered [redacted] and declaimed against him, and [redacted] versified against her. When the Duke [redacted] in 1723 Peterborough



was one of the ten peers who acted as assistants to the three chief ■■■■ magnificent obsequies. He went on visiting ■■■■ Duchess notwithstanding the controversy of 1711. She did not decline ■■■■ visits ■■■■ his compliments, requiting herself for her enforced civilities by ■■■■ endorsement on ■■■■ old high-flown letter from him: "This lord since the Queen's death ■■■■ to me and talks as ■■■■ he had always been in our interest and of our opinion." There ■■■■ Stanhope, whom ■■■■ a general he had severely criticised and condemned. There ■■■■ the Harley-St. John combination of ■■■■ men, with whom he had been temporarily allied on terms of common hostility to others: "I love them"—which may be doubted—"and I hate their enemies," ■■■■ he said very sincerely. Between them and him there was no surviving link after the Queen's death had ruined them ■■■■ a party. The connection had ■■■■ neither side been extremely cordial while it lasted, notwithstanding the efforts of the two leaders to give their alliance with Peterborough, ■■■■ with all their associates, the character of a family compact. Pope speaks of Bolingbroke, in particular, and Peterborough ■■■■ wholly unlike; but rather their mental resemblance may have been ■■■■ what too close for mutual amiability. They felt their wits pitted against one another. A boisterous goodwill and affected admiration covered something of jealousy ■■■■ well ■■■■ contemptuousness ■■■■ the ■■■■ side, and of wrath ■■■■ being held in a leash ■■■■ the other. For Peterborough the dissolution of one political league did not mean the formation of another. After the accession of George the First he mingled only casually in party feuds, and belonged to no party ■■■■ intermittingly.

But he had never been wholly dependent either for happiness ■ for occupation ■ political connections, and the importance they gave. When they failed him he was able to ■ back upon the representatives of other and less capricious interests. In their company he ■ come down to posterity with a brilliancy scarcely inferior ■ that with which he shone in his ■ day.

He had always been a patron of letters, as Dryden's gratitude testifies. He had the good taste to value his nobility and ■ for the admittance they gave him among the wits. Sensible ■ he was of the advantages of birth and position, he used them in his relations with ■ of high intelligence only for the flattering purpose of rendering himself acceptable. To them he ■ faithful, if he were false to statesmen, kings, mistresses, and conquerors. ■ was on familiar terms with the literary companionship in general, from the illustrious Dryden to Mrs. Manley, the notorious authoress of the *New Atalantis*. But Swift and, in later years, Pope were his warm friends. He had known Swift before he went to Spain. His apology for his resistance to the Occasional Conformity Bill in 1703 shows how he then valued his respect. Swift has recorded that they renewed their acquaintance at Harley's house in October, 1710, when the Earl grew mightily fond of him. The liking ■ cemented at a supper given in the following November by Peterborough to Prior, Lewis, Freind, and Swift, who pronounced his host the ramblingest lying rogue on earth; but that, ■ when he spoke of him ■ a hangdog whom he loved dearly, ■ fashion of evincing admiration. He notes how Peterborough truly predicted two months before

Brihuega that Stanhope would lose Spain. In July 1711, ■ dilates ■ the great things he verily believes Peterborough had done diplomatically in Savoy and ■ Vienna, though ■ of his negotiations militated against the peace which he violently opposed and ■ desired. ■ was alarmed at the rumours of Peterborough's death, and the certainty of his illness, ■ Frankfort, in October, 1711, and exclaims that "we love ■ another mightily." Long afterwards he gratefully wrote that the ■ always remembered to do kindnesses, and ■ gave him time ■ ask a favour. He asks in 1732 for a letter that he may have the pleasure in his scoundrel country of going about and showing his depending parsons a letter from the Earl of Peterborough.

With Pope Peterborough's intimacy ■ constant during the later years of his life. ■ admired the genius of the poet, though "a respectable intelligencer, who had it from Lord Peterborough," told Mr. Tyers that Peterborough did not think ■ friend Pope so good ■ great a poet as Dryden. ■ liked the ■ Parson's Green and Twickenham ■ not very far apart, and the poet often ■ Peterborough's guest ■ Fulham, as well ■ sometimes in Bolton Street. They wrote to one another when they ■ separated. Peterborough's share in the correspondence shows his prose to greater advantage, ■ all events according to the taste of the nineteenth century, than in the Howard correspondence. Letter-writing ■ the single form of composition in which literary ■ in ■ amateur need not fear competition on equal terms with ■ same quality in the professional author, and Peterborough certainly ■ the art.

To Pope's taste his letters were rather too [redacted] and wandering for a statesman; but as [redacted] read them [redacted] understand that they would put the poet [redacted] his mettle, and his replies are among the most carefully polished in his correspondence. They were carefully kept, and after the Earl's death they [redacted] to have been collected and deposited [redacted] Dodsley's shop in Pall Mall. The Duchess of Portland referred in 1737 to [redacted] order which Lady Peterborough had given to Mr. Dodsley to deliver to her, for perusal by Mrs. Delany, "the book of letters in quarto, [redacted] large folio, [redacted] she pleases. A. Pope. All in his own hand." The friendship [redacted] proof against two tempers, each explosive. Pope was tolerant if his senior uttered a sharp word, and Peterborough could gracefully ask grains of allowance for [redacted] gloomy or rainy day. [redacted] was not the less content with Pope's affection that he knew it [redacted] shared with [redacted] who, he thought, had played him false, like Bolingbroke, [redacted] whose projects he hated, like those of Atterbury. He drilled the vines and quincunx in the grounds of the Twickenham villa as energetically as [redacted] he had been marshalling legions for the conquest of Spain. He [redacted] mediated, and with temporary success, between the poet and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Their relations [redacted] so cordial that for Pope Anastasia bore her rightful title [redacted] Lady Peterborough long before the world gave it her, and [redacted] could invite himself to be of the company on the occasion of [redacted] naval review [redacted] Portsmouth in that year. This may have been the expedition, when, as he told Swift [redacted] years after, [redacted] went with Peterborough two leagues out [redacted] sea, to try [redacted] [redacted] could sail without sick- [redacted] and nearly died of [redacted] experiment. When in

1732 Pope ■ appointed an examiner at Winchester School, or, according to another account, joined Peterborough in offering prizes for English verse, he set ■ the subject "The Campaign of Valencia." He ■ Peterborough's guest ■ Bevis Mount, and together they went ■ prize distribution. In the following year he ■ Mount for three weeks in the autumn, and again in the following ■. He was the depository of Peterborough's ■ the inconclusiveness of ■ invertebrate ■ in which, "whenever he had been fool enough to take pains, he had always met with some will able ■ undo his labours." To him ■ communicated the very superfluous confession that, notwithstanding the study of Barclay's *Apology for ■ Quakers*, he found, after ■ stroke given on the left, he could not offer the right cheek for another blow. Peterborough cared sufficiently for Pope's favourable judgment, and relied sufficiently upon it, to endeavour to persuade him that he himself ■ ■ rural philosopher, rejoicing to write to the poet upon the side of ■ wheelbarrow, while the farmeress ■ Bevis corresponded from the haycock; that for him, ■ he ■ situated, it ■ ■ virtue to be ■ loiterer, ■ worshipper of the goddess Laziness; and that, ■ he ■ longer laboured to reform national vices and wrongs, it was simply because he had toiled so long and strenuously at the task ■ to have proved that the endeavour was unavailing.

Had ■ been less indomitably juvenile in temper he might have pleaded physical ■ ■ perfect excuse for standing aside. His constitution had been seriously injured by the carriage accident in 1711. ■ had travelled in the summer of 1717 in quest of health, and ■ absence ■ the Continent between 1718 and 1727 prob-

ably had the [redacted] motive. [redacted] sufferings became [redacted] acute, from stone in the bladder, with advancing [redacted]. From [redacted] allusion in a letter of 1730, when he had been exceedingly ill, it may be inferred that he neglected to apply remedies. In 1732 he [redacted] for several days in extremities, and in the next year Pope wrote to Swift that he had narrowly escaped death. Early in 1735 he [redacted] advised that [redacted] operation offered the only chance of life, after which he must, they said, winter in the south of Europe. The crisis had a happy result in [redacted] way. He had long been dependent on his wife for the sunshine of domestic existence, though to the world she had never yet been introduced under her rightful title. He esteemed it a concession that, to obtain her attendance as his sick nurse when he [redacted] lying racked with pain [redacted] Mount Bevis, without subjecting her presence in his house to odious misconstructions, he had permitted her to wear her wedding-ring; but [redacted] she had not been allowed by him to use his name. She had not travelled with him, and she could not now accompany him abroad unless as his wife. As the recognition had to be, he had the grace to determine that it should be made at [redacted]. [redacted] would not leave her fair fame to the dubious chance of his escape with life from the surgeon's knife. In spite of the uncontrollable temper and high opinion of his own actions, which rendered him, in Mrs. Delany's opinion, "a very awful husband," he loved Anastasia tenderly, and sincerely admired her purity, dignity, and devotion. He formed his resolution in the spring of 1735, and carried it out in conformity with his general view that everything affecting him was matter of historical interest. Mr. Stephen Pointz, [redacted] to Prince William, the future

hero or butcher of Culloden, ■■■■ over the gateway of St. James's Palace. ■■■■ had married Peterborough's niece, and Peterborough borrowed the apartment. To it he summoned all his ■■■■ relatives, who found there Anastasia. When they ■■■■ assembled he addressed them in a ■■■■ discourse. He described an ideal woman, ■ charming companion, ■ guardian angel in sickness. Long years since ■ had been ■■■■ happiness to win, and he had ■■■■ rejoiced in winning, such ■■■■ for his wife. His shame ■■■■ to have omitted, from unpardonable vanity, ■ acknowledge her. Then turning to her, all unconscious ■ she had been of the meaning of the gathering, he took her by the hand and presented her to his kinsfolk ■ the Countess of Peterborough. Overwhelmed with the tardy announcement she fainted, and was borne inanimate from the room.

Soon after this scene they were formally remarried at Bristol. He had executed ■ will securing her the enjoyment of the Parson's Green house and Bevis Mount. But want of evidence of the first marriage threatened difficulties. The clergyman who had read the service ■■■■ dead, as also ■■■■ Lady Oxford, the sole witness. He may have been unable to give a ■■■■ interest in the Parson's Green property unless under ■ power in the family settlement to endow a wife; the surest outlet from the perplexity ■■■■ go through the rite again. Apparently they ■■■■ gone to Bristol in reliance on the skill of a local surgeon, St. André, for the performance of an operation which, with the indifferent instruments and uncertain dexterity of the period, was ■ hundredfold ■■■■ perilous than at present. Tradition ■■■■ embellished the narrative with ■ recital of the

patient's scornful rejection ■ the offer of the surgeon to fasten him down—to bind a Mordaunt!—from dread, of ■ struggles under the terrible pain. With his usual restlessness the next day he drove, in defiance of his doctors, to Bath. If the story be true of the manner in which he published his marriage to Bath society by calling aloud in the Rooms for the Countess of Peterborough's chair, he must have made the acknowledgment ■ his way either from ■ to Bristol. From ■ he returned to Bevis Mount, in haste to conclude the arrangement of ■ affairs, and to prepare for his continental journey. His original intention had been to go to France, to Lyons at least, if not beyond. He had provided himself with ■ yacht, in which he meant to sail across the Channel, and he had been diligently annotating Burnet's *History*. In France, besides health, he hoped to collect information which might enable him to correct the bishop's scandalous misrepresentations, ■ he accounted them—mere coffee-house gossip, as they appeared to Swift. He wished in particular, he said, to justify Queen Anne from the imputation of intending to bring in the Pretender. This, he told Pope, to his knowledge neither her ministers, Oxford and Bolingbroke, ■ she had ■ designed. In the meantime he ■ busy enough ■ Bevis Mount with other things besides political controversies. He had much legal business to transact. ■ was solicitous to finish the buildings and gardens at the Mount for her, to whom, he admitted, he had obligation beyond words, to enjoy after him. ■ desired above all things to impress the circle he ■ about to quit with ■ due sense of the lustre and force ■ the luminary it ■ about ■ lose.



With Mrs. Howard, — Lady Suffolk, — — shepherdes, — he called her, he had never ceased to maintain a correspondence, — tender, though its warmth had gradually been somewhat mitigated. He saw no cause in his avowal of the legal claims of his wife to abjure literary devotion to her, — do the two ladies — to have seen any. He wrote to her in July, from Bevis Mount, in high praise of — life he had been reading of Julian the Apostate, by the Abbé — la Bléterie, which had appeared in 1735. "With what majesty does the Emperor meet his fate! Showing how — soldier, how a philosopher, how a friend of Lady Suffolk's, ought, only with juster notions of the Deity, to die. The lady, the book, or both together, have brought me almost into a raving way; I want to make an appointment with you, Mr. Pope, and — few friends more, to meet upon the summit of my Bevis Hill; and thence, after a speech and — tender farewell, I shall take my leap towards the clouds, — Julian expresses it, to mix amongst the stars; but I make my bargain for — very fine day, that you may — my last amusements to advantage."

Pope stayed twice in 1735 — Bevis Mount. The first visit was paid before the operation. He arrived — dusk, and — delighted by Peterborough's vivacity, which seemed — prove a renewal of health; but when candles — brought in he started to find him looking — like a ghost than — living creature. The second visit — at the latter end of August, when — was vividly impressed by the same contrast between — body, than which — could be more wasted, and a soul, — which none could be more alive. — dilated

upon it in a letter of August 25th to Miss Martha Blount. Peterborough talked, though in a weak voice, with such spirit and warmth of his plans for the ■■■■■ loved, and for the vindication of historical accuracy from perversions like Burnet's, that he might have been supposed to be much recovered. He had with him day after day not only all his relations, but every creature of the town of Southampton who pleased to ■■■■■. Pope, however, occupied the next bedroom at night, and heard him cry hourly for help. In the morning he fainted twice in the garden; yet he sat at dinner with ten people, the gayest of them all. A quarter of an hour's agony followed. Then he was carried again into ■■■■■ garden, where he declaimed against existing ministers and great men, and the decay of public spirit and honour. Pope pitied the poor woman who had to share in all he suffered, and who could in ■■■■■ one thing persuade him to spare himself. He may not have altogether disagreed with Mrs. Delany's verdict upon Peterborough, considered matrimonially; but he admired the genius, the fire, the courage. "It is impossible ■■■■■ conceive how much his heart is above his condition. He is dying every hour, and obstinate to do whatever he has a mind to; ■■■■■ ■■■■■ born to die like other men, any ■■■■■ than to live like them." He ■■■■■ aware that he ■■■■■ dying, and believed that he was bidding farewell for ever to ■■■■■ friends who gathered around him. To Pope, at his departure, he gave the watch which Victor Amadeus, of Savoy, Sicily, Sardinia, had bestowed upon him. ■■■■■ friend would now, he said, have something ■■■■■ put ■■■■■ every day in mind of him.

He had abandoned ■■■■■ project of a journey through

France, and, hesitating between Lisbon and Naples, consulted Spence, the travelled compiler of the *Anecdotes*. He ■■■ then at Kensington, and though he appeared to have no more than ■■■ a dozen days of life left in him, he rose from bed to dine with Spence and others. Shortly after he made up his mind for Portugal, and his wife and he drove again to Bristol, to take ship. Pope hesitated whether he should not make ■■■ voyage with them to help to ■■■ his friend ; but the two went alone. They reached Lisbon, and there, where the ■■■ by which he is remembered in history began, on October 25th, six days after his arrival, Peterborough died.

■■■ best friend watched by his pillow, almost sacrificing her life to his. She came back to England with her husband's body, which lies buried, without a memorial, in the Mordaunt vault under the chancel of Turvey church. The rest of her eighty-eight years ■■■ spent chiefly at Bevis Mount, diversified only by the exchange of occasional visits with Lady Oxford's daughter, the Duchess of Portland, ■■■ Bulstrode. That her right to the entire esteem of the class she had entered by marriage was never disputed is apparent from the correspondence of the duchess, who writes of her to others ■■■ "a very dear friend, which is Lady Peterborow." It is ■■■ evident from the emphatic testimony ■■■ Mrs. Delany. Her husband's grandson and ■■■ in his peerages named ■■■ daughter after her. The only act she ever committed for which any will be disposed to blame her is the suppression of her husband's memoirs. ■■■ Delany told Dr. Burney he had in his youth kept a journal in which he narrated

minutely his eccentricities ■ thought and behaviour, and this he incorporated in three manuscript volumes of autobiographical notes compiled by him in his later years. The collection, according ■ Mrs. Delany, included confessions so compromising to the writer's reputation that Lady Peterborough burned it. An annotator of Burney's *History of Music* quotes ■ statement by ■ Lady B., who says she had ■ the work, to the effect that in it Peterborough boasted he ■ committed three capital crimes before he ■ twenty. The boast is very likely; it was his way, for his romances no ■ spared himself than his foes. Mrs. Howard, who also had read the reminiscences in manuscript, had learnt to allow for ■ lively imagination, and does not ■ to have been ■ appalled by them as Lady B., or ■ Lady Peterborough. Perhaps Peterborough included among his capital offences his pursuit of ■ dancing-master with drawn sword, and the breaking into a landlady's bar to steal ■ tame canary. At all events, in the judgment of amiable Mrs. Delany, the holocaust "contributed to complete the excellence of the widow's principles." ■ allows at the ■ time that ■ did not fail to give offence to the curious inquirers after anecdotes of ■ remarkable a character.

The lost memoirs would have been amusing, though they might not have been edifying. They could scarcely have cleared up many of the doubts ■ to Peterborough or his acts. There ■ ■ who enter the region of legend while they ■ yet living, and he ■ of them. Acts and intentions, as they issued from the red-hot cauldron of his career or of his fancy, turned into vapour. The

world ■■■ long made up ■■■ mind that all connected with him must be licensed as romance, and nobody has ■■■ dared or cared to ■■■ him and his achievements ■■■ entirely serious. He ■■■ been measured by a special standard applicable to heroes of historical novels. There ■■■ been ■■■ alternative; for his biography ■■■ and remains ■■■ throughout with debatable performances and debatable motives. Posterity and his contemporaries have been equally ■■■ ■■■ loss to decide which of ■■■ hundred circumstantial particulars told of him ■■■ facts and which ■■■ fictions. Was he ■■■ profligate ■■■ the dye of Rochester and Buckingham, ■■■ ■■■ kind and faithful husband? Did he forge the letters to M. Couteau? Did he perjure himself ■■■ Fenwick's trial? Was his object to tear a veil from the eyes of his deceived sovereign or to trip up inconvenient rivals? Did he conceive the capture of Montjuich or, cuckoo-like, steal into ■■■ ■■■ another had devised? Did he play the game of war with chessmen or with dice? Was he a greedy speculator, or ■■■ he fight his country's battles half ■■■ his own cost? Was he the conqueror of Valencia, or did others do the work and he ■■■ the laurels? Did he lie to Mahoni, or did he lie when he said he lied? Did he ■■■ Leake relieve Barcelona by sea? Did he ■■■ Cifuentes and Prince Henry guard it by land and rout the besiegers? Did he, ■■■ did he not, provide for King Charles ■■■ safe and short road ■■■ Madrid, with a certain ■■■ ■■■ its end? Were the Campilio tragedy and his vengeance inventions? Were the Charing Cross canary, the fair lady of Huete, ■■■ truant nuns of Valencia, the bevvies of adoring dames, Parisians, Spaniards, and Venetians, all creatures

■ imagination? Was he ever robbed by highwaymen? Did he ■■■■ five guineas among ■ mob? Did he ■■■■ ■ dancing-master through the Strand at the point of a drawn sword? Was he pillaged by Voltaire, and would ■ have retaliated by quenching the light of eighteenth century scepticism? Did he officiate ■ cook ■ his own dinner parties? Did he wed Anastasia Robinson first in 1722 or in 1735? Was he ■ in love with Mrs. Howard? What ■ Galway's, Swift's, Pope's, St. John's, Harley's, his two wives', sincere opinion of him, and his ■ of himself?

Biographers endeavour in vain to return conclusive ■■■■ on ■ multitude of disputed points, ■■■■ relatively vital, many absolutely trivial, in this zigzag and motley career. Without help ■ hindrance from them Peterborough will continue, as statesman, soldier, courtier, lover, to occupy his old place on the borderland of fable. But a life of him will have missed its mark if it do not convey ■ impression of a most accomplished egotist; the determined king of his company; ■ inexhaustible spring of views and impulses; ■ brain so fruitful in combinations that they jostled and thrust ■ another out; a wit and enterprise eagle-eyed and eagle-taloned, equal to every opportunity ■ ■■■■ agency in war and politics, in society and gallantry; an electric force which could ■■■■ let things be; ■ born rebel against the right divine of circumstances, irrepressibly elastic under ■■■■ most crushing defeats; ■ nature delightful ■ jest ■■■■ masquerade with, ■■■■ admirable to mate ■ work with; easier to like, ■■■■ to love, than to approve; equally hard to have to do with, and ■ do without; a player at the game of life, for

whom thrones, armies, senates, hearts, honour, were  
pawns to be moved hither and thither for sport ; ■  
streak ■ phosphoric light trailing, full of illusions and  
full of charm, ■■ fifty years of English annals ; ■■  
of the most fantastically bright spirits that ■■ gaily  
dug holes for history to fill up.

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